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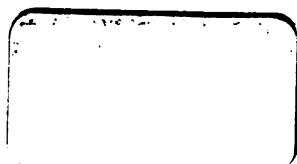
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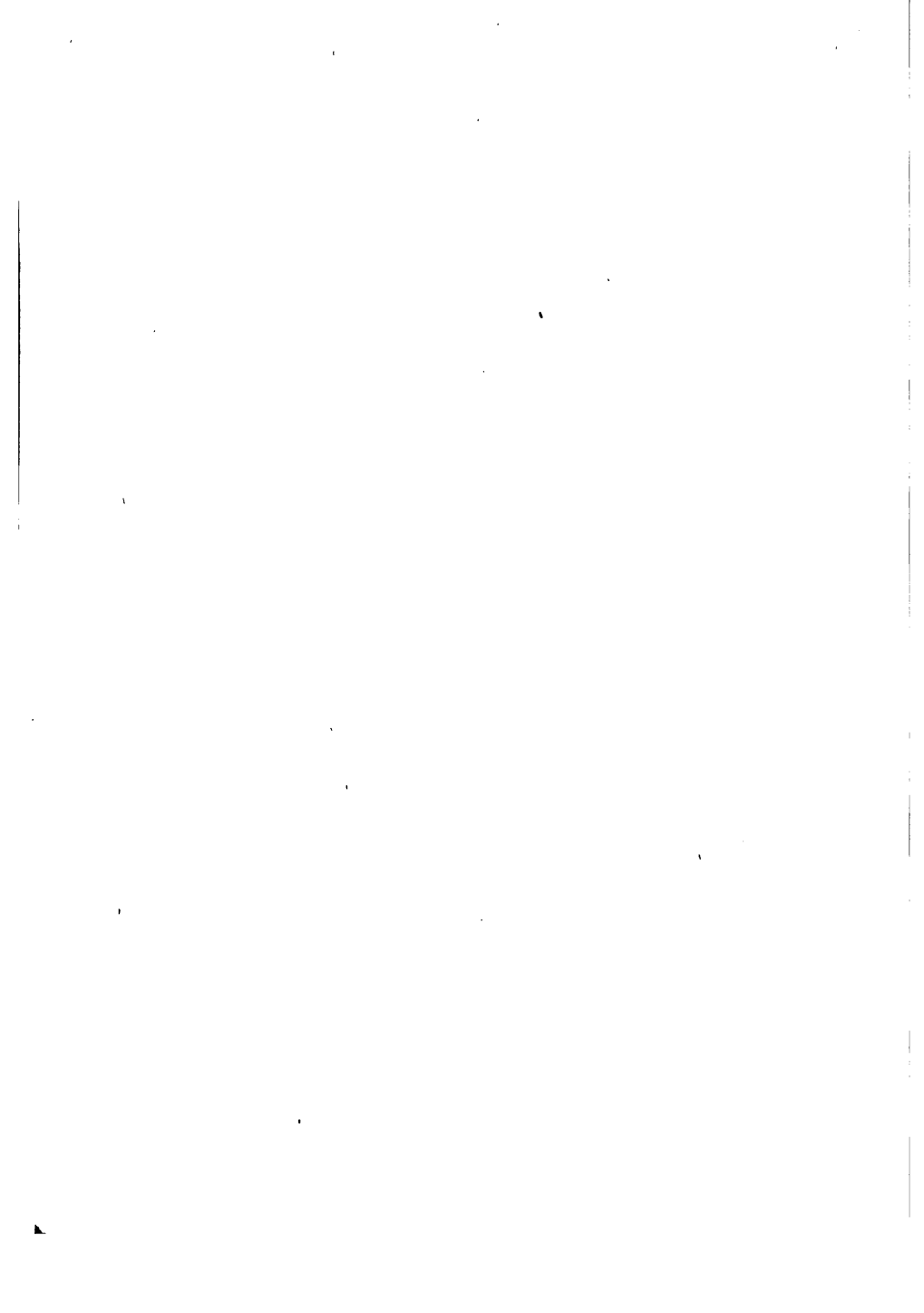
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# THE HISTORY *of the* UNITED STATES

*From 1492 to 1910*

*By*  
JULIAN HAWTHORNE

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*Illustrated*  
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VOLUME III



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# THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

VOL. III

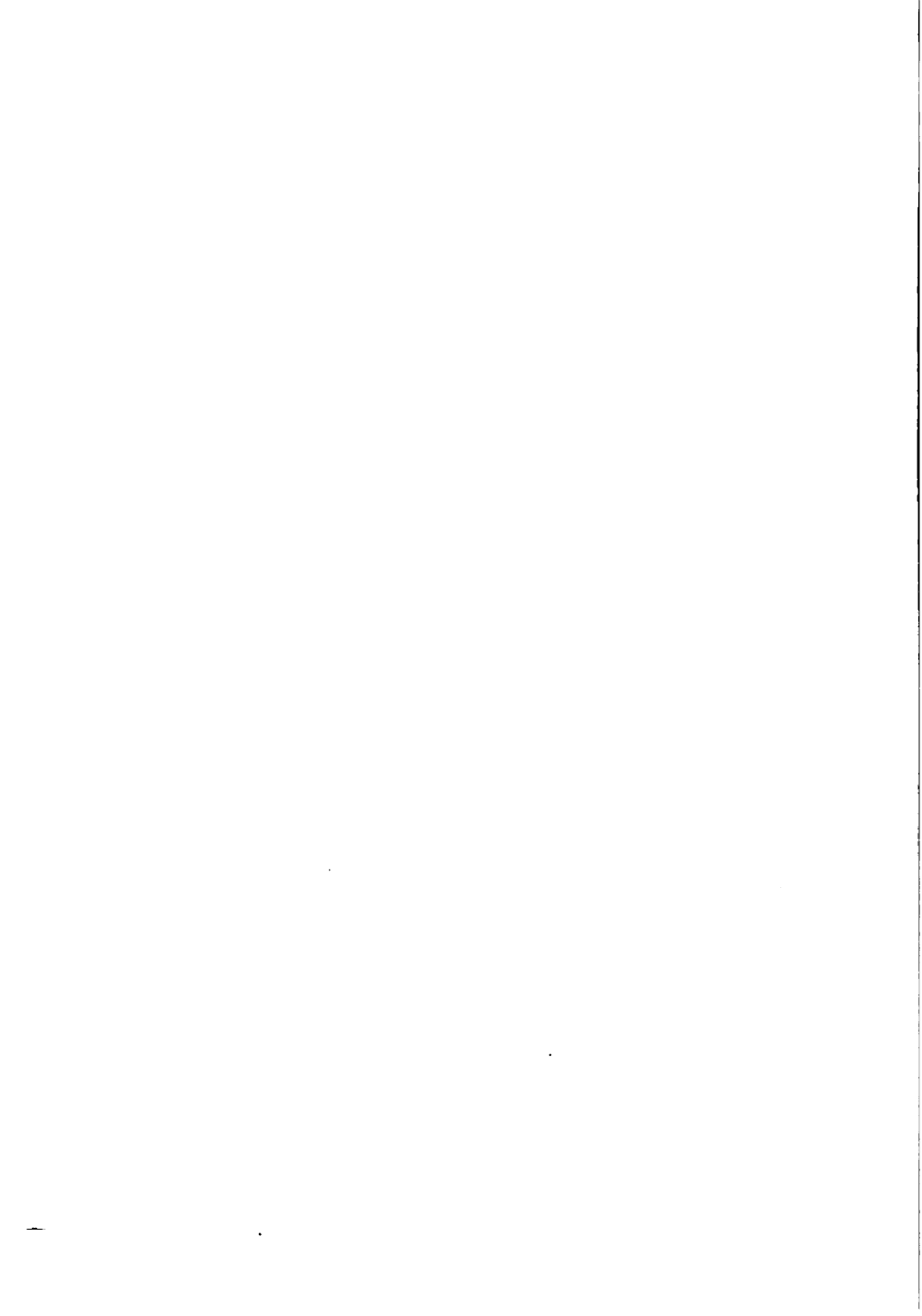
FROM WAR WITH MEXICO

MAY 13, 1846

TO

THE 134<sup>TH</sup> ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

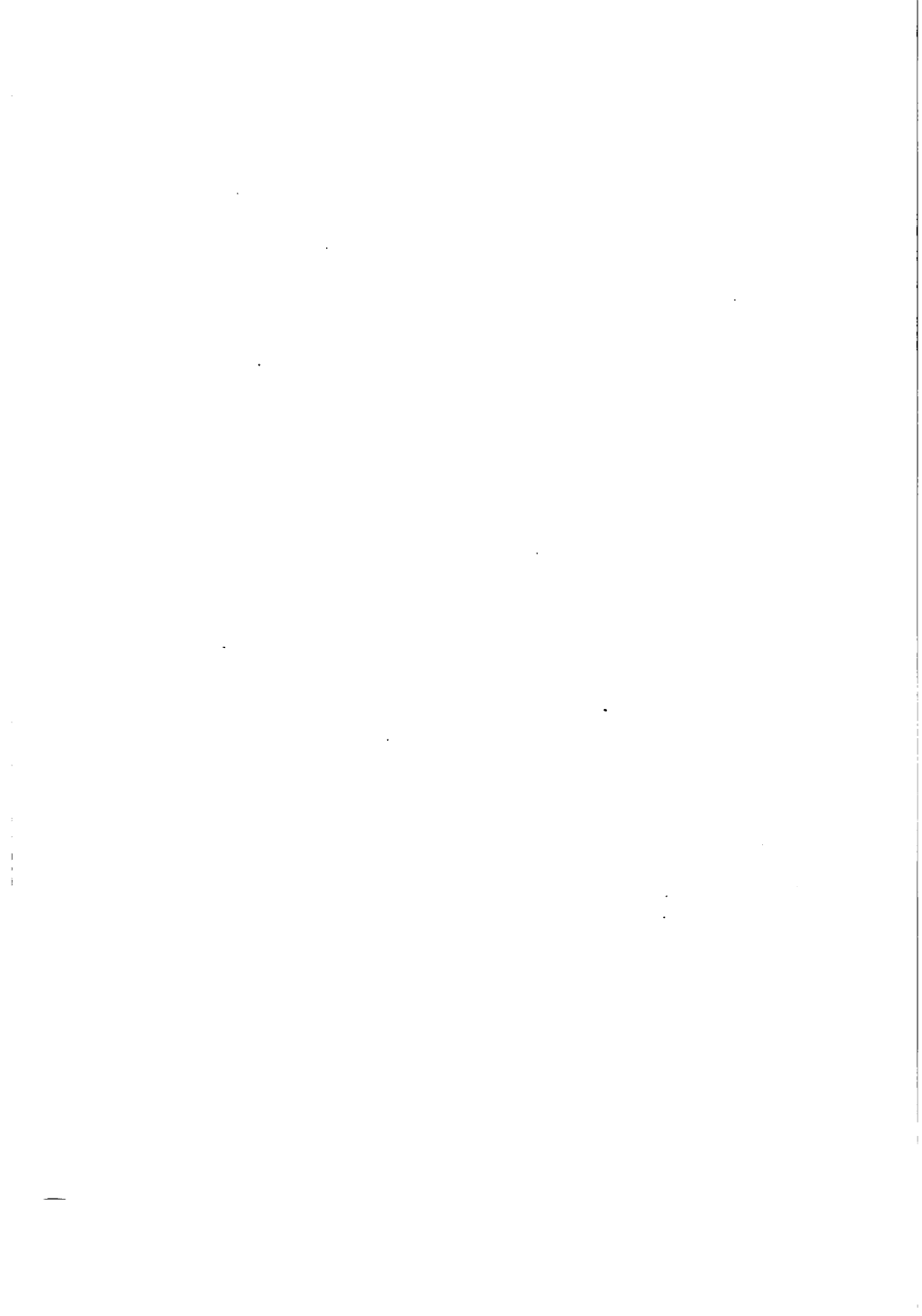
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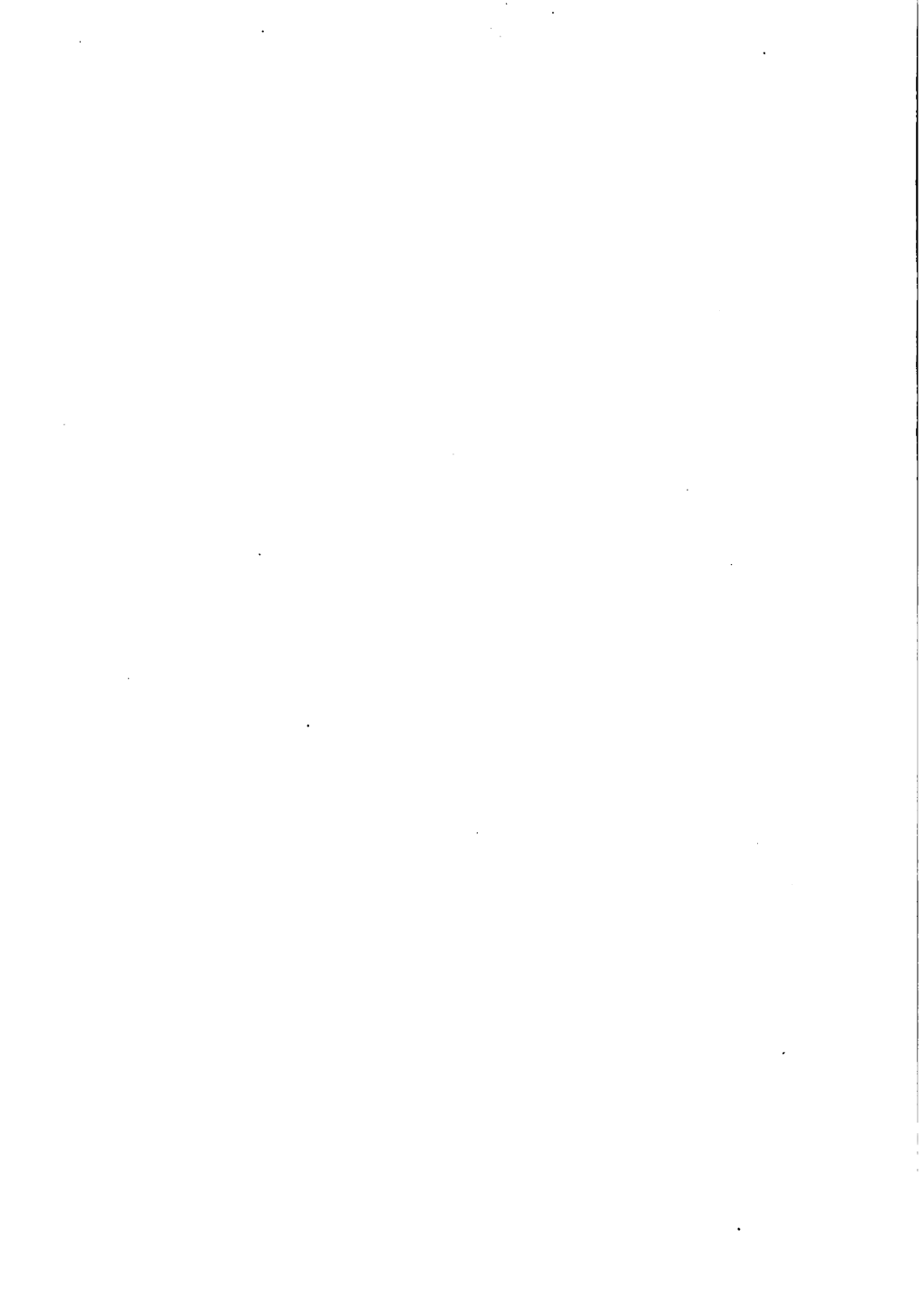
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## CHAPTER TWENTY-NINTH

### *MEXICO*

**P**OLK was not a great man; he might be called a small one, if the comparison is to be with such figures as those of Clay, Calhoun, and Webster. He was elected by an unforeseen contingency, and seemed even less likely than Tyler to accomplish anything of importance. He was a disciple of Jackson, who still lived and talked at his Hermitage in Tennessee; he was a strict party man, and never entertained a thought of transcending the obligations which his election had imposed upon him. There was nothing striking in his character or physical appearance; he was a sober-looking individual in the neighborhood of fifty years of age, with plain manners and guiltless habits—which included the national habit of tobacco chewing—and he was the husband of a lady who had strict ideas of religion and behavior. Such people might have been postmaster and postmistress of a small country town; blameless in their

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pose, and could see clearly within his limited range; he had plenty of courage, and believed in his country, especially in the Democratic aspect of it. In short, he was a good, honest business man, whose business was politics; and his unlooked-for elevation neither frightened him, nor made him vain. He looked upon it as a business contract, which he would proceed to carry out, on party lines, without fear or favor. He chose an able Cabinet, but was the master of it, and commanded its respect. Such a man is a proof, if anything can be, that any ordinary American of good character and political training can make a good President of the United States. And it may happen that, like Polk, the ordinary American will be the agent of events no less momentous than those which marked Polk's presidential career. We have just seen how great men may produce small results; we now see a small man produce great results—so far as an Executive can be said to produce anything.

But Polk was not only methodical: the plans that he made he carried out. Up to this time all the Presidents, from Washington down, had planned things which they did not execute; but Polk proposed to himself four special things, and he did them all during his four years of power. They were, reduction of the tariff, an independent treasury, the settlement of the Oregon boundary, and the Texan or Californian acquisition. That was a large contract for four years; but he carried it out. The changes he made in the civil service of course occasioned some dissensions; he alienated Calhoun and Tyler; but he could afford to do that; for Tyler was now nobody, and Calhoun was South Carolina only. Upon the whole, his appointments were judicious. In June, 1845, Jackson died, nearly

that Polk did quite as well without that autocratic power in the background.

The most pressing matter at the beginning of his term was the Oregon boundary. The United States had been the first, through Captain Grey, many years before, to discover the Columbia River; and with its discovery went the lands which it drained. But the British Fur Company had been collecting furs in the northwest region for generations, and the British government laid claim to everything in its usual high-handed and insolent manner. Our claim extended north to latitude  $54^{\circ} 40'$ ; the English would concede nothing above  $49^{\circ}$ . They wished to keep the country wild and uninhabited, in order to preserve their game; we wished to settle in it, and had been doing so for years; and meanwhile a "joint occupation" had been agreed to, which was inconvenient, and admittedly temporary. Polk's inaugural address asserted our right to all Oregon; and the country took up the claim with the cry of "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight!" Considering that we were on the brink of war with Mexico, this recalled our belligerent attitude at the time of the war of 1812, when we had debated whether we ought not to take on France as well as England. But though it was thought that England might fight for Oregon, it was not believed that Mexico would fight for Texas and California; an offer of money would satisfy her. If Congress had properly echoed the feeling of the country at this juncture, it is likely that war with England would have taken place. But Congress, the more it deliberated, grew the more moderate; and the messages of Polk were gradually toned down, till the final Congressional report became a practical basis for diplo-

State; and he finally agreed to accept from Pakenham, the British minister, the boundary of 49°, with navigation of the Columbia for the Fur Company. It was less than our right, but for practical purposes it was quite as much as we could make use of.

After passing a new tariff bill, which reduced duties and assessed ad valorem, which was criticised by both Whigs and Democrats, but did not interrupt the prosperity of the country, the Mexican business came to the fore.

The war with Mexico was violently denounced at the time, and has often been condemned since; it gave James Russell Lowell a memorable opportunity to display his talent for satire and his command of Yankee dialect, in the *Biglow Papers*. The majority of New England people were never reconciled to it. The objectors make out a plausible case on paper, but the facts do not sustain them. The Mexicans were a semi-barbarous people, with whom no civilized association was possible; they conducted negotiations by massacre and murder, and in war mutilated the bodies of the slain. They were a cross between Spaniards and Aztec Indians, combining the least attractive features of both. Because a man is offensive, however, it does not follow that he has no rights; but the rights of Mexico in this affair are very dubious at best. When Texas revolted, she claimed the Rio Grande River as her Mexican boundary; and it is the natural geographical one. Mexico thereupon insisted on the river Nueces as their limit, a small stream about a hundred and fifty miles further east. It was this claim of theirs which was their only pretext for war. When Texas was annexed to us, her boundaries became ours; and General Taylor, who with a few thousand men had been for

was that the Mexicans were continually making border raids and murdering persons who were now American citizens.

Mexico, like all Spanish-American states, was continually subject to revolutions; and at this juncture Herrera, the President, was deposed in favor of a soldier, Paredes. Meanwhile Polk had endeavored to open negotiations with Mexico, with a view to settling the matter without bloodshed if possible; but Slidell, our envoy, was insulted, and returned.

Taylor occupied a fort twenty miles from Point Isabel, opposite the Mexican town of Matamoras on the Rio Grande. A large Mexican force was on the other side. General Ampudia, in command of the Mexicans, ordered him to retire within twenty-four hours. Taylor of course held his ground; but a few days later the Mexicans waylaid Colonel Cross outside the American lines, killed him, pounding out his brains, and stripped him of his uniform and arms. When he was missed from the American camp, Captain Thornton with a few horsemen was sent in search of him; he also was ambushed and killed. This first blood of the war was shed on what could be reasonably claimed as American soil; and in a manner characteristically Mexican. "War exists," said Polk in his message, "and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself."

After the killing of Captain Thornton, Taylor, leaving three hundred men in the little fort, went with the rest of his force to Point Isabel, where his supplies were stored. Having secured them, he set out on the return march the same evening, bringing ten cannon with him. At Palo Alto, the following noon, he was confronted by six thousand Mexican troops. Taylor had but two thousand; but he



the field of battle, and cannot withstand civilized troops. Advancing the next day, Taylor found the enemy strongly re-enforced and advantageously posted in a ravine flanked by chaparral. The fate of this battle hung on the Mexican artillery, which was well served; but Captain May, at Taylor's order, charged with his cavalry on the gunners and sabered them at their guns, but at the cost of half his men. General La Vega was captured in this charge, and, the infantry following it up, the Mexicans fled in haste. Taylor reached the fort and found it safe, though Brown had been killed in one of the assaults upon it. In all these contests, the dead and wounded who had fallen into Mexican hands had been uniformly stripped and mutilated.

It was in May, 1846, that these actions took place; before invading Mexico, General Taylor waited for orders from Washington. But the government were taking a comprehensive view of the situation, and were moving both north and south of Taylor's position. Indeed, the expeditions of John C. Fremont to Oregon and California had begun in 1842, when there was no thought of doing more than investigating the nature of the great western country, with the intention, should it prove desirable, of making offers to Mexico for its purchase. This vast region belonged to Mexico by courtesy only; the Indians had better claim to it than she. She had never occupied it, in the sense of governing or protecting it; and the scattered inhabitants who dwelt isolated in its picturesque expanses could not by the most licensed imagination be regarded as a population. They were the feeble dregs of a decaying race which at its best was ever hostile to progress and civilization; they were sunk in sloth and religious bigotry, and the mixture of ignorance, stupidity

Rocky Mountains was preposterous. Nevertheless our government, anxious to keep far within the limits of reasonable obligations, aimed to make every concession which the most fastidious scruple could require. The American people were forcing the government's hand; they were pouring across the mountains in ever-increasing numbers, and had already made the land American in all but name. It was necessary to provide against disorders arising from this source; for a free and enterprising body of emigrants cannot accommodate their ways and thoughts to the lifeless and obstructive usages of semi-barbarous degenerates, such as were these mongrel descendants of the red men and Spanish. That the "Greasers" should be overwhelmed was inevitable; but it was our wish to afford them all possible compensation. Another element in the situation was the apparent intention of England to seize California for herself; to check this policy, with its sinister consequences, was the part of prudent and beneficent statesmanship. The impulse and the policy were national and non-partisan; conquest, in the ordinary sense, was not contemplated; at most, only a recognition of the fact that the horse is his who rides it. Fremont's surveys and his picturesque and stirring adventures were of great value, and made him personally popular; his romantic disposition gave color and character to what he did; and though, on one or two occasions, he was compelled by unforeseen circumstances to act up to the limit of his responsibility, no step that he took was other than honorable and sagacious.

But Fremont's third expedition was in 1846, when war between Mexico and the United States was imminent. He

out these instructions, fearing to involve himself in political complications; but upon their being reiterated, and in order to forestall the English Admiral Seymour, he finally received the surrender, without bloodshed, of San Francisco, Monterey, and the other ports on the coast. He sailed for home a few weeks later, and was succeeded by Stockton, a younger man, of more energy and resource, with whom Fremont could co-operate.

History sometimes imitates, if it do not repeat itself; and we can find in this Mexican war many similarities to that with which we engaged with Spain fifty years later. Polk, like McKinley, was a man of peace, and his Cabinet were of the like complexion; but war forced itself upon them. The Mexicans were never successful in any engagement, and never had a chance of success in the objects for which they fought; we continually offered them the opportunity of negotiation with a view to peace, and never struck a blow until after it was certain that nothing short of a blow would suffice; but the Mexicans, with the mulish and unreasoning obstinacy which took the place in them of patriotism and courage, insisted upon continuing the contest in the face of inevitable disaster. Thousands of their soldiers were killed to flatter the blind vanity or greed of their commanders; and thousands of square miles of territory were lost to Mexico which might have remained hers had her leaders been truly patriotic. But the terms of peace we finally allowed her were ridiculously lenient, and she owes it to our clemency, and not to herself, that she exists as a distinct people to-day. The case has been the same with Spain; though her power

the brief government of Paredes was already tottering, on the understanding that he use his influence with the nation for peace. He came accordingly; but once he was in the saddle, he abjured his promise and became a more aggressive leader of the war. Upon learning this, in October, the government was fain to issue orders for the raising of volunteer troops; and the response was enthusiastic: six times as many offering themselves as were required. So far as the people were concerned, the war was popular; though it is to be observed that the majority of the volunteers, as might have been expected, were from the Southern states.

General Kearney now set out from Fort Leavenworth, on the Missouri border, and led a thousand men southwestward along the Arkansas River to Santa Fe, a march of nine hundred miles; it was the outpost of New Mexico, and submitted without resistance. After taking measures for the organization of a government here, Kearney continued his march southward, along the western slopes of the mountains, till he was met by the famous scout, Kit Carson, who had been with Fremont, and who informed him that the latter had brought California to subjection. He sent the greater part of his troops back, but himself kept on with a small force on horseback to the Pacific, his goal being San Diego, on the coast. The main body, under Doniphan, marched south to Chihuahua, on the other side of the Rio Grande, fighting their way against largely superior numbers, and capturing the town, with forty thousand inhabitants. Doniphan effected a junction with Wool, who had brought a force of three thousand disciplined troops from San Antonio, drilling them by the way, until at the end of the march they were seasoned veterans. The union of the two forces was effected at Saltillo, south of

Though there was no lack of men anxious to fight Mexico, there was a strong opposition to the war on the part of many politicians and theorists. The same causes which had operated against the admission of Texas—fears of the extension of slavery—were active now; and there is no doubt that the slave states would willingly have seen their institution established in the new country. In consequence, the elections showed a tendency to the return of Whig influence; and when money was asked for by the government for the purchase of Mexican claims, a proviso was tacked to the bill stipulating that all land bought with such money should be closed to slavery. The proviso, called after Wilmot, who introduced it, met with angry opposition; but it was popular in the North, and was heard of later. Slavery or no, the war must be carried on, and Congress passed the necessary measures. The government, which desired to get all the credit for the war that was possible, from political motives, were embarrassed by the fact that no Democratic generals were available; both Taylor and Winfield Scott were Whigs. Benton might have been used, for he had seen service before becoming a statesman; but there were technical difficulties in the way of his appointment, even had he been certainly competent to discharge his military duties. The President had to make the best of it; and after all, if the war were Democratic, it was perhaps to his advantage that it should be carried on by Whig officers. But the rivalry of parties was very keen; and the admission of Iowa and Wisconsin as free states did not lull the apprehensions of the anti-slavery section.

The majority of our population probably regarded the

years in Illinois, building the city of Nauvoo, came under the guidance of the new prophet, Brigham Young, to Utah, where they founded their present abode. Smith had been arrested in Illinois for breaking the laws of the state, and had been taken from jail and shot by the mob. This singular sect, known to the world chiefly as advocates of polygamy, made many converts, and exercised great influence; and their settlement in the far west undoubtedly helped the general tendency in that direction. They were fortunate in their leaders; Smith was as sure he was right as was Mohammed centuries before, and his belief in himself, and the odd circumstances which he imported into his propaganda, won him disciples; while Young was a man of great ability, and a master of discipline and organization. He made the desert into an Eden, and the great city which he built is now, since its peculiar shadow of polygamy has been removed, the center of a growing civilization.

Scott and Taylor were both Virginians, and, as has been said, both Whigs; but here all likeness between them ceased. Scott was a martinet, a pompous and irritable man, vain as a peacock, fond of dress and display, arrogant and domineering; a man who could never win the personal affection of his officers and men, though they might respect him as an able and far-seeing general, which he certainly was. Physically he was a striking figure, towering a head and shoulders above the rest of the army; and in his plumed hat and showy uniform, mounted on his charger, he was the type of Mars come to earth. He was jealous and ambitious, finding great difficulty in conceding merit to any other soldier in the army; and his ambition had long aimed at the Presidency. Taylor, on the contrary, was of medium height, and in all

soldiers and looked personally after their welfare; and their devotion to him was confirmed by the fact that he was a great fighter, and absolutely free from fear; he would loll in his saddle, and crack jokes, in the midst of a rain of bullets and cannon balls that would have stiffened and sobered any other man whom they did not frighten. Scott was brave enough, as had often been proved in the past, though he had once avoided a duel; but his ideas of military propriety kept him from needlessly exposing himself; he remained grandly in reserve, and sent his subordinates to the front. In his conduct of this war, he never made an error, and his exploits were almost as brilliant as Taylor's; but he could not gain the love of his soldiers, nor was the impression he produced at home comparable to his rival's, who was immediately understood and liked as a true American type of the good old simple sort: unpretending, sagacious, humorous, and grit all the way through. It was not long, as we shall see, before this feeling for Taylor declared itself in a very practical manner.

Scott was commander-in-chief of the army. But the outbreak of the war had found Taylor at the front; and the first news from him indicated that his little force was in some danger. Scott expected to be sent with a large army to take the lead in the campaign, his idea being to make a magnificent tour down the Mississippi, with the admiration of the world upon him, and then to cross the Rio Grande and shrivel up the Mexicans. But as soon as Democratic politicians perceived the significance of this intention, and realized that Scott was playing for other stakes than mere victory in war, they remonstrated with the President, and Polk was obliged to intimate that he contemplated making other arrangements. To clinch the matter. news was now

moted to be major-general, and the conduct of the campaign was intrusted to him. He was gratified, so far as this favor showed that the people appreciated his efforts; but he was not disposed to rely very far upon the smile of the Democratic government, and felt that were he to fail their support of him would be withdrawn. In fact, the men and supplies of which they were lavish on paper were not always forthcoming in real life, and he had to do the best he could with what he had.

His proceedings on the Rio Grande have already been outlined. The general first in command of the Spanish forces, Ampudia, had quickly been superseded by Arista, but with no favorable results so far as the Mexican army was concerned; the Americans were better disciplined and commanded, and their morale was perfect; while man for man they were of course immensely superior; their only deficiency was in numbers.

At odds of nearly three to one the battle of Palo Alto was fought and won; but Arista, though retreating, seems to have shared the delusion which we have lately observed in the Spanish in Cuba, that the Americans would not pursue. But Taylor, anxious for the safety of his fort, kept steadily on, and overtook the enemy at Reseca de Palma, in a formidable position. But as before, the charge of our troops was irresistible, and once in retreat, and their fear of their own officers forgotten, the flight of the Mexicans was headlong. Spanish courage is like the spurt of a match; it comes and is gone again in a moment, and if that moment does not decide the contest, all is over for them. The Mexican government, still following the Spanish fashion, court-martialed Arista, whom it never should have appointed to such a command.

These brilliant little victories sent Taylor's name all over



fled without attempting a battle; and Taylor took possession and treated the inhabitants well. For a time he paused, while re-enforcements were on the way, and the political squabbles in Washington, which always occur on such occasions, and which appear so contemptible in the retrospect, were being fought out. The line on which Taylor was now advancing could not reach the City of Mexico; the attack on that should be made by way of Vera Cruz, as Taylor himself pointed out; his duty, meanwhile, would be to push on to Saltillo via Monterey, cutting the Mexicans' line of communications. But in carrying out this programme he was hampered in various ways: the inhabitants had few supplies, and sold them dear; transport was difficult in the rough country, and the short term volunteers would be ready to go home just when they were most wanted. However, by the end of July he was joined by General Worth, their united army numbering between six and seven thousand, three thousand of whom were regulars. Taylor reached a small town twenty miles from Monterey on the 15th of September. Monterey was occupied by ten thousand Mexicans under Ampudia, who had again superseded Arista, but who was almost equally cowardly and incompetent. The defenses of the town were very strong, and so was its natural position along a river, with heights behind. Taylor decided to make his main attack on the west; but he began by a strong feint on the east under Garland, which was only partially successful, and was accompanied by severe loss from the enemy's well-posted artillery. But Worth had had better fortune on the west, carrying with small loss the heights on that end of the town, and cutting off the enemy's supplies and re-enforcements on the Saltillo road. During the next two days, it was to Worth that the laboring oar was necessarily given, and in a series of man-

his inmost defenses. Taylor had not yet established communication with his victorious subordinate, with a view to combining an attack; but it was not necessary; for Worth kept advancing, fighting his way from street to street, until he planted his guns in a position whence he could throw shells into the central square in which the Mexicans were huddled in stupid consternation. Fortunately for them, night put a stop to the attack; and before it could be resumed the next day, Ampudia sent a flag of truce. The Mexicans, in treating for surrender, showed precisely the same imbecility which we see displayed by the beaten Spanish commanders in the Cuban war; they would sooner perish with the city, they declared, than evacuate as paroled prisoners of war. And Taylor, like our contemporary generals, was perhaps overindulgent; he loved not slaughter for its own sake; and finally agreed to let them march out with small arms, a battery, and twenty-one rounds of ammunition. Mexican "honor" was satisfied, and Monterey, with its guns, munitions and stores, passed into our possession.

There were no eager newspapers with their daily bulletins and their army of war correspondents, in those days; but there seems to have been present at this battle a gentleman connected with the "Louisville Courier," who was moved to write to that newspaper in the following terms, which we may compare with the style of half a century later. "In the midst of the conflict," he writes, "a Mexican woman was busily engaged in carrying bread and water to the wounded men of both armies. I saw the ministering angel raise the head of a wounded man, give him water and food, and then bind up the ghastly head with a handkerchief she took from her own head. After having exhausted

be willing to believe otherwise. It made me sick at heart; and, turning from the scene, I involuntarily raised my eyes toward heaven, and thought, Great God! is this war? Passing the spot the next day, I saw her body still lying there, with the bread by her side, and the broken gourd, with a few drops of water in it—emblems of her errand! We buried her; and while we were digging her grave, the cannon-balls flew around us like hail."—It seems as if fifty years were scarce enough to mark the abyss which stretches between whipsyllabub of this kind, and the terse, stern telegrams which tell us of war nowadays. One can imagine the sweep of the blue pencil in a modern newspaper office upon receipt of such a communication.

The victory of Monterey had a somewhat illogical result—from the strictly military point of view. Taylor was deprived of a large part of his command, and left to face the enemy with a remnant, at a moment when the latter was re-enforced to the amount of twenty thousand men, and was commanded by the ablest of the Mexican generals, Santa Anna. Owing, moreover, to what must be supposed to have been an accident, a duplicate of the communication from General Scott, informing Taylor of this depletion, was allowed to fall into Santa Anna's hands; so that the Mexicans were encouraged to attack a foe whom they already heavily outnumbered.

What was the explanation of this change of commanders and of the plan of campaign? As regards the latter point, the attack on Mexico City by the Vera Cruz route was judicious; the city could not have been reached from Taylor's position, as he had himself pointed out. For the rest, we

Their only defense against this danger was so to weaken him in the field that he would either be obliged to retreat, or, if he engaged, would be defeated. Scott, ordinarily a man of honor, was seduced by his ambition into aiding this unsavory plot. But all parties to it were ashamed of their own work, and also fearful lest the country, getting wind of it, should condemn them; so instead of ordering Taylor, frankly, to put himself under the orders of his ranking superior, they tried to hoodwink him and obscure their true purposes; and Scott, rather than brave a personal interview with Taylor, which the etiquette and courtesy of the service demanded, put him off with letters and excuses, and committed the gross breach of decorum of giving orders directly to one of Taylor's subordinates. Taylor saw through the whole ignoble transaction, and was bitterly mortified and indignant. Almost any other commander—certainly, Scott—would have resigned his place; but Taylor showed a greatness of soul worthy of Washington himself. He held his peace, went ahead with his duty, and, with a force which after his junction with Worth amounted to less than a quarter of that under Santa Anna, prepared to meet the latter at Buena Vista. Such patriotism and magnanimity sometimes meet reward even in this world.

In a gorge of the mountains a high plateau was protected front and rear by ravines, while a connecting ridge joined it to higher ground commanding the roads. On this plain Taylor drew up his force. Santa Anna sent him a grandiloquent summons to surrender on pain of annihilation. Taylor curtly declined. It was the anniversary of the birthday of Washington, February 22, 1847.

Santa Anna thought it best to defer the annihilation of the Americans until the next day; and meanwhile Taylor rode back to Saltillo in his rear to provide for its safety. Re-

order. Taylor brought two regiments and Braxton Bragg's artillery to their support, turned back the enemy, charged, and reoccupied most of the ground which had been given up. Santa Anna, with his superabundance of men, attacked in front and on either flank; but his soldiers, as soon as the bubble of their audacity, blown up by their own boastings, had been pricked by American resistance, betrayed the cowardice which is deep in the heart of all men of Spanish race, and could not be led to the attack again. A strong detachment made a detour to capture our baggage; but were hurled back with heavy loss by the volunteers of Kentucky and Arkansas, assisted by May's cavalry charge. At the end of the day, the enemy's attack had failed at all points; our troops bivouacked where they were, and the next morning Santa Anna with the remains of his vainglorious army had disappeared. Our total loss was about seven hundred; but not more than half of Santa Anna's force reassembled at San Louis Potosi, whence he had set forth. Those who were not killed, wounded or prisoners had deserted.

This victory ranks with the great battles of history; and none of the combatants comes out of it with quite so much credit as Taylor himself; he was in the thick of it all the time, saw everything, provided against everything, placed the troops where they would do the most good, sent supports at the moment they were needed, and inspired the men to fight like heroes under every trial. A strategy board, sitting at home, would have decided that Taylor must be beaten; but the homely old warrior was willing to do his best first; and his best proved more than good enough for four times his number of Mexicans, led by their best gen-

United States. The news of his wonderful victory reached home just at the right moment, when all were expecting to hear of his defeat. The country knew that he had been foully dealt with, and its joy at his success was doubled on that account. His most malignant enemies at Washington dared not attempt to check the torrent of enthusiasm; and Taylor was and he remained the popular hero from that hour until his death. The detachment taken from his army, by which our Secretary of War, Marcy, had hoped to cripple him, accomplished nothing; its ostensible purpose had been to besiege Tampico on the coast; but Perry had taken it before Patterson, with the detachment, arrived, and the latter was able only to garrison it. But meanwhile Scott, in pursuit of glory for personal ends, was making a gallant record along the road to Mexico City.

Distrusting the sincerity of the favor which had put him forward, but resolved to take advantage of it to the utmost, and profiting by the revelation of the incompetence of the enemy which Taylor's campaign had afforded, Scott sailed from New Orleans and landed at Vera Cruz with twelve thousand men. His regulars were led by Worth and Twiggs, his volunteers by Patterson; and a host of smaller fry, mostly Democratic political generals anxious to forward their fortunes, made up the list. On the 9th of March, after the most anxious preparations for a strong resistance from Santa Anna, who had just been annihilated by Taylor, though Scott did not know it, the latter got his men ashore on a smooth sea without the loss of a life, and was ready to begin the siege of the castle and fortifications.

From Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico is a distance of about two hundred miles in an air line, and the capital is

manding at Vera Cruz, had forty-five hundred men under him; but he could get no re-enforcements, and depended on holding out till that favorite ally of Spanish Americans, the yellow fever, should fight on his side. His position was of immense strength; but his artillery was poor, and what was more to the purpose, his soldiers were Mexicans. Scott had one eye on politics and the other on his army; but the result was good; he determined to risk nothing by assault, but to proceed by the regular operations of a siege. Commodore Perry deployed his ships so as to assist him, and the bombardment began on March 23, after Scott had offered to allow the non-combatants to withdraw—an offer which Morales had characteristically refused. But the next day this proud commander caused the foreign consuls to make a request for a truce, while the withdrawal might take place; but Scott would now entertain the proposal only in case Morales himself should proffer it, with a view to surrender; and meanwhile he opened another battery. This was too much for Morales, who, too cowardly (or as Spanish ethics interpret it, too proud) himself to sue for terms, handed the command over to a subordinate to do it for him. We have seen precisely the same subterfuge adopted of late at Santiago de Cuba. Scott was not particular on that point; the city and fort were surrendered, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honors of war.

After waiting for transport, the advance was made in April, and no resistance was met with until our army reached Cerro Gordo, in the mountains. Here Santa Anna, who had recovered his volatile spirits after Taylor's chastisement, was arrayed with ten thousand men. His proclamation to the Mexicans announced that triumph or death was the alternative he proposed to himself. Three days later he was in headlong flight, leaving even his wooden leg be-

Santa Anna's position, indeed, was theoretically impregnable, and was defended with elaborate works and ample artillery. His main force was in the pass of Cerro Gordo, a steep mountain ascending from the river's bank; the road passes through the ravine to Jalapa above. The hilltops had been fortified; Santa Anna's right was protected by a precipice; but his extreme left could be turned by the almost impossible feat of scaling Cerro Gordo itself. Twiggs, however, succeeded in accomplishing this, thereby gaining the rear of the enemy's main force, between the latter and Jalapa. Resting behind the shelter of the peak during that night, while heavy guns were brought up, Twiggs then joined in a general assault, which Scott had planned in detail, and which was carried out just as he had designed. Pillow kept the enemy busy on the right, Riley engaged the center, and Shields took the left in front; and Colonel Harney, of Twiggs's division, clambered up an ascent which hardly afforded foothold, in the face of a heavy fire, and carried the intrenchments on the summit with the bayonet. The enemy gave way everywhere, and when the cavalry started in pursuit, the rout was complete. Several thousand Mexicans escaped with Santa Anna and Ampudia by the Jalapa road just before Twiggs was able to get down to intercept them; but their losses were very heavy; our own was four hundred and fifty men.

Santa Anna arrived with his shattered army in Mexico City; but although he knew that further resistance was vain, his desire to hold the reins of government prompted him to deceive his countrymen with audacious falsehoods, and stimulate them to defend the City. The approaches were accordingly well fortified; and the arrival of a clerk of the War Department at this juncture, with ambiguous messages to Scott and a sealed packet of unknown con-



offer of a treaty on a money basis; Santa Anna made it the pretext of delays, and finally told the clerk that he could not venture to appoint peace commissioners until the American army had carried one of his defenses at Mexico City. By the time this conclusion was reached, Santa Anna's preparations were complete, and Brigadier-general Franklin Pierce, a New Hampshire Democrat, just appointed, arrived to re-enforce Scott with twenty-five hundred men. It was August, and four months had been frittered away, to the profit of the enemy.

Proceeding from Pueblo, Scott, marching in four divisions, came in sight of the plain on which the city stands about the middle of the month. After reconnoitering the fortifications, Scott decided to attack on the left, which Santa Anna fancied to be impregnable. Fighting began at the suburb of Contreras, where Santa Anna himself was driven back and the works captured, with the road on that side to the city. At Churubusco, another outlying hamlet, with a stone convent by way of citadel, a severe engagement took place; Twiggs was finally assisted by Worth and Pillow, who had been successful at the village of San Antonio; the outworks were carried, and the convent surrendered. In this action, General Pierce, who had been wounded in the foot the day before, had his horse shot under him: the wounded foot was caught beneath the horse; the general fainted from pain and was carried from the field. The total losses of the enemy were seven thousand killed, wounded and prisoners, with three times as many cannon as the invaders had brought with them. The total number of Mexicans engaged was twenty-seven

cality and duplicity which Scott had not fathomed; and was ready to ruin his country, or to accept the bribes which he hoped to secure from our government, as circumstances might dictate. After the American commissioners had stated our terms of peace—a sum of money, and the cession of Texas, New Mexico, and Upper California—Santa Anna replied by offering to sell Texas east of the Nueces, and to cede so much of California as was above the latitude of San Francisco; requiring of us, in return for these favors, the payment of all Mexico's expenses in the war, the restoration of all forts which we had captured, and a solemn promise never hereafter to attempt to annex a foot of Mexican territory. Such was our reward for treating men of Spanish blood with consideration. While the negotiations were in progress, the Mexicans had violated the terms of the truce, and were repairing and strengthening their fortifications.

But this tricky and profligate adventurer had overestimated the power of mere politics in America; he had left the American people out of account. His impudent proposal had been a bid for more money; but Scott admonished him that hostilities would be resumed at once. On the 8th of September, Worth destroyed a powder magazine at the base of the fortified hill of Chapultepec; but as no attempt was made on this occasion to capture Chapultepec itself, the Mexicans hailed it as a victory, and gave medals to the heroes who had crouched behind the castle walls while Worth was carrying off the powder. On the following days Scott attacked the defenses of the city, which were strong enough to have defied any assault had they been

two gates; but during the night Santa Anna stole out on the other side, and was personally safe. He had played for a large stake, trusting that others were as base and corrupt as himself; it was almost his last appearance in history. For although, years after, he succeeded for a moment in snatching once more the reins of power, he was almost immediately overthrown; and, after long exile, he died at last, a neglected and despised outcast, at the age of eighty-one, in the city he had betrayed and abandoned. He was a typical Mexican; but one of the worst, as well as one of the cleverest, of his type.

After he had been ousted from the government which he had unlawfully seized—if law could have any application to the Mexico of that era—denounced by his own late subjects as a traitor and robber of the public treasury, the treaty of peace was concluded by Scott, with terms which showed every desire to be just and tolerant to the vanquished. In consideration of the large amount of territory taken, we agreed to pay Mexico fifteen million dollars, a fifth of this upon signature of the instrument. The boundary line agreed upon was as specified in our earlier proposals, and as it now appears on our maps; and time to remove, and protection, were accorded to the inhabitants of the ceded provinces. So far as Mexico was concerned, the proceedings were over, and we had shown ourselves more lenient than the customs of war would have warranted; though of course no American desired the annexation of Mexico itself, with its undesirable population. But Scott had still other battles to fight with his own Democratic subordinates; which resulted in his ordering Worth and other officers under arrest, pending charges brought against them; but the War Department directed these charges to be preferred at home, and they

its defenders. The moral issues which they sought to raise were absurd; the real point of dispute, more or less cunningly disguised, was as to the admission into the conquered district of slavery. Should the Missouri Compromise line be run to the Pacific, or should the entire new region be open to slaves? This was a pregnant question; it was compromised for a time by Clay, as we shall see; but meanwhile the Wilmot Proviso served to formulate the issue before the country. The slavery dispute was rushing fiercely to its issue, and men were divided between the passions which it excited and their wish to avoid a fatal rupture. The greatest statesmen of the country were to lavish their best thoughts and energies upon the problem, and after all the knot was to be severed by the sword.

At present, it became evident that the Democrats were losing. The Whigs had been helped by the fact that after the Mexicans had been proved unable to effectually resist us, the war lost most of its interest for the people; the result seemed known beforehand, and the details were monotonous if not tedious. The Mexicans were called patriotic because they so prolonged the peace arrangements, when in truth the delay was due partly to the selfish designs of their officials, and partly to the latter's fear to take the responsibility of negotiating at all. When the peace was established, the Whigs charged that the Democrats had waged the whole war in the interests of slavery; and in the inflamed state of men's minds, even so extravagant an accusation as this was allowed to pass. But the strongest argument for the return of the Whigs to power was the prospect of electing Zachary Taylor to the Presidency; he could unite both parties as no

man who had won such battles over not only the enemy, but himself, was able to make the office of Executive respected.

There was a dwindling Whiggish minority, however, who clung to their ancient idol Henry Clay, who had become a farmer since his retirement, and had experienced religion. Horace Greeley, through his "Tribune," represented these patterns of constancy; and the famous old leader, now seventy years old, was induced to make a speech at Lexington, Kentucky, denouncing the war, abusing the Democrats, and advocating "the virtues of moderation and magnanimity." The veteran's eloquence was almost as bright as ever, but he could no longer move the people by exhortations and attacks of this kind. It was observable that though the Whigs had constantly abused the war while it lasted, they had not ventured to stop supplies. They wanted both the moral advantage of having opposed it, and the concrete benefits it would secure. Webster himself would commit himself to nothing further than general disapproval. In the House, a new member, Abraham Lincoln, made an able speech analyzing the Democratic professions; but it had no serious effect. The remonstrances of the aged but still fiery John Quincy Adams had more weight; but just before the news of peace came, Adams, in his place in the House, was stricken by death; he lingered from the 21st to the 23d of February, but his last conscious words were uttered within a few minutes of the attack: "This is the last of earth," he said; "I am content." He might well be content; he had lived eighty years, had served his country all his life, and had never done an ignoble deed. From his funeral the House returned to give its approval to the treaty of peace; and now

the Missouri Compromise was a sufficient protection in itself. Clayton of Delaware proposed that new territory should be slave or free according to the decisions of the Supreme Court; but this "Clayton Compromise" was not approved, though Jefferson Davis, among others, advocated it. It was thought that the platforms of the national conventions would shed light upon the problem; but the Whig convention, after nominating Taylor and Fillmore in preference to either Clay or Webster, adjourned without a mention of the Wilmot Proviso, or any other platform plank; and the Democrats, who chose Cass and Butler for their standard-bearers (Polk having declined to run), were almost equally reticent. The desperate eagerness of the Whigs for power, at any cost, was demonstrated in their choice of a slave-holding candidate, and their silence as to the Proviso. Indeed, an extreme wing, comprising Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, Charles Sumner and Samuel Hoar, combined with the corresponding subdivision of the Democrats known as Barnburners, and set up a Free-soil Party; the old Liberty Party joining them. They met in convention at Utica, and nominated Martin Van Buren, on a platform which, while abstaining from interfering with established slave states, forbade the creation of any more. Charles Francis Adams, son of John Quincy, was nominated for the Vice-Presidency.

Clay and Webster had been much mortified by the preference given to Taylor; for what is the use of being a leading statesman all one's life, if a rude soldier who knows nothing of statesmanship is to be chosen over one's head at last? Webster had been offered the Vice-Presidency, but had declined it from pride; yet had he accepted it he would have been President after a year. Clay accepted his defeat as final; he would not help Taylor's canvass, but refrained from opposing it, as Webster—not explicitly, but by implica-

oppose all slavery extension and all increase of slave representation," he said, speaking on the Oregon bill, "in all places, at all times, under all circumstances, even against all inducements, against all supposed limitation of great interests, against all combinations, against all compromise." This seems sweeping enough; yet Webster remains open to the imputation of having regarded the Union and the Constitution as superior to the simple law of right and wrong.

Calhoun and his followers took the bolder and franker course of declaring that any citizen of the United States had the right to reside in any state of the Union he pleased, and to take his slaves, if he had any, with him; and Calhoun added that the time was come to arm against the North. Mexico had been conquered chiefly by Southern soldiers, and Southerners should have the privilege of occupying the territory upon their own terms. The Missouri Compromise no longer satisfied these men; they demanded not only to be "let alone" where they were, but to have liberty to carry their institutions elsewhere. After taking such a stand, the alternative of mere secession might seem almost like conceding a favor. They did not succeed in enforcing their opinions upon Congress, for the Southern Whigs would not go so far; but they managed to block decisive legislation as regarded California, and postpone the issue to the next session at least.

Polk's administration accomplished solid and valuable results; in this respect it is entitled to far more credit than were several which had preceded it—not to speak of its immediate followers. But Polk personally had not been a success, in the popular sense; he was too reticent; he never spoke with the people as man to man; he took his course, and vindicated it in his long and dry messages; but he

his country; in his silent way, he suffered keenly from the wanton abuse which was directed against him; his four years in the White House made him prematurely old; and he died in June, 1849, a few months after his successor had been inaugurated. He received no public funeral; no national monument commemorates him; but Texas and California, and the vast region between, are his contribution to our greatness; and Oregon, with the northern boundary of the Republic. Again, his tariff bill, with its tendency to free trade, was of immense benefit to our commerce, and proved anything but a check to our manufactures—thus falsifying the predictions of its eminent opponents. The financial situation had also greatly improved. The only really serious charge brought against him—that he provoked the Mexican War for party ends, and for the sake of illicit conquest—will not stand the test of dispassionate scrutiny. It was a war forced upon us, partly by the natural westward movement of our population, partly by the outrages perpetrated by Mexico, whose cruelty and anarchy made all political association with her impossible. It was a thoroughly justifiable war, and was carried on with as much humanity as brilliance.

To turn aside for a moment from these political matters, let us remember that it was during Polk's administration that a discovery was made which, more than any other single fact in medical annals, has proved of lasting benefit to mankind. Pain is the great evil that afflicts mortal man; and the inseparable connection of pain with surgical operations had been, since earliest history, one of the darkest shadows of human life. It had moreover rendered practically impossible all those extraordinary surgical triumphs which the latter half of this century has won; for they are dependent for success not only on the entire immobility of the



Morton, in 1846, has saved thousands of lives, and has spared millions of men and women incalculable suffering. The world owes this young New England physician a debt which can never be repaid, save by acknowledging its indebtedness.

W. T. G. Morton was born in Massachusetts in 1820; he had a good academy education, but was largely dependent upon his own ability, courage and resolution for a livelihood. He studied medicine first with a private physician in Boston, afterward entering the Harvard Medical School, and following a course of lectures there; and it was while still a student, and engaged in the practice of dentistry, that he became impressed with the anæsthetic properties of sulphuric ether. On the 16th of October, 1846, in the operating room of the Massachusetts General Hospital, Morton demonstrated to an assembly of distinguished physicians the value of his discovery. In so doing he not only went against the opinions and warning of some of the best medical minds of the age, but he risked an indictment for manslaughter, should his experiment terminate unfavorably. It is not easy to overestimate the heroism which, in the face of such discouragement, went steadily forward to establish what he knew was a truth, and what has proved so vast a blessing to the world.

A patient was to be treated for tumor. Morton had his ether in a little glass globe; he put the rubber mouthpiece of the globe between the patient's lips, and caused him to inhale the contents. The man speedily became insensible; the removal of the tumor was successfully accomplished by Dr. John C. Warren, the patient appearing all the while as if in profound slumber, except some slight movements

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ing, the feelings of the young experimenter during that ical half hour must have been poignant enough; and one might envy the glad thrill of generous emotion which he welcomed the recognition of his success. He destined, like so many other benefactors of their species subsequent misrepresentation, and to suffer, in ways wether could not avert, from the efforts of conscienceless tenders to rob him of the credit of his intelligence and biery. But time has done Dr. Morton justice; and th years after his untimely death, the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of anæsthesia was celebrated by a gathering of leaders of the profession in America, and Morton's sole ri to the honor of the discovery and its application was fine vindicated and celebrated. Fulton and Morse had already won our gratitude for their immense contributions to material wealth and progress of the race; but the service rendered by Morton is more tender and intimate than theirs and a warmer sentiment than gratitude must always mingle with our memories of him.

## CHAPTER THIRTIETH

### *THE LAST OF THE WHIGS*

AS THE time of which we write draws nearer to the present, the difficulty of comprehending the meaning of events increases; we see wrongs, and marvel why they were permitted, and how they shall be made right;—for we must believe in the good purpose of an almighty God, or else history becomes a meaningless juggle of accidents, which it would be worth no man's while to recount or disentangle. But the wrong of slavery has now passed away from us, and the steps which led to its passing are known, if not always in their innermost secrets, yet broadly enough to enable us to draw inferences and deductions. We can begin, at least, to understand how events were overruled for our ultimate benefit; though doubtless the great account is not yet fully settled; there are other kinds of slavery than that of the negro, and this country is not yet free. During the struggle between North and South before the outbreak of actual war, many of the greatest minds that America has produced were bent upon the problem of the slave; and some of them lost their bearings entirely; some chose the wrong deliberately in preference to the good; some doubted and hesitated, wishing to do right, but fearing to admit to themselves what the right truly

when all is done, and men are weighed as to their motives and their acts.

That human slavery was an evil, there are none now to deny; not because those who were moved to support it by the sword were conquered in the battle: for conquest does not prove right: but because, now that the burden has fallen from us, we discover that it was never necessary to our best development, and that though, for a time, it seemed as if much of our material prosperity was to be ascribed to it, we have learned that without it we should have been a better and happier people, and that wealth also would not have been denied us, though it came through other channels. Slave labor was never a necessity to the prosperity of this Union; and that it was a detriment on other grounds is clear. But it had come upon us without our consent, and, once established, there were many practical obstacles to getting rid of it. At first all parties had loyally wished to accomplish emancipation; but gradually, as slavery bred a race of slave-holders, different in training and ideas from the rest of their countrymen, these came to approve the institution for itself; they defended it, and the moral outcry against it of the rest of civilization only confirmed them in their defiant attitude. They even declared it to be a holy institution; it became almost a point of religion with them, as well as of honor, to uphold it. Southern honor was a local phenomenon; it was, indeed, derived from medieval sources, and was an anachronism in the Nineteenth Century; but it existed in the South because there men had become used to holding opinions as they held a wife, and allowing no question thereupon. A Southerner's opinion, his word, his institution, all were sacred; he would not argue about them, or if he did it was with no intention of admitting arguments on the other side. Calhoun argued in behalf of

with, even though it be unsound; and in any argument it will generally happen that nine-tenths of the words spoken are vain words, having no true relevance to the matter in hand, and serving only to make the outward show of resistance. Southerners, then, had deliberately shut the avenues of the mind through which they might be approached on the subject of the abstract right or wrong of slavery; and in Congress, as we have seen, they so far imposed their will that for many years the subject was taboo, and to refer to it was to risk a quarrel.

To this, the North, or a major part of it, submitted; they were resigned to letting slavery continue to exist where it had always been; and with this concession, the only opening for quarrel was when a slave escaped into a free state, and, according to the law of the land relating to property, must be given back to the owner upon demand. Such a law was odious to the North, not because negroes were property, but because they were human beings. But, save in sporadic instances, the odious law was obeyed, because it was the law; and the way to protest against it was not to break it, but to obtain its repeal. The Abolitionists would break the law, and sever the Union; but that was to cure one wrong by another; and their course was wrong, because other means had not been exhausted. When the time came that a majority of the people wished slavery to cease, it would cease, though the will of the majority were enforced by the sword; but until it was the will of the majority, nothing but agitation within lawful and constitutional limits was justifiable. Let the Abolitionists hold up the torch of truth before the people, and bid them love the law; but let them not

not rest within its historic limits, but must needs come forth and spread over the whole continent. The general pretext given was that unless the equilibrium of free and slave states was preserved, the free would obtain preponderance, and would use it to destroy the institution on its own ground. Slavery must spread, on pain of being altogether extirpated. This was the Southern plea, and it was not without plausibility. Yet it is probable that the North would never have interfered with the slave states; they had their own affairs to attend to, and were willing to let the South attend to hers—if only she would. It would presently have become obvious, too, that the slave states, occupying a limited area, would gradually have declined, and expired of internal disease, if not by the revolt of their human cattle, as in San Domingo. If they would have agreed to keep themselves to themselves, the North need have done nothing more than leave them thus isolated, and the end would have been a question of time only. But to this the South would not agree; and indeed it would have been a practical impossibility, under the geographical and political conditions of the Republic.

The South, then, must extend the area of slavery: and how should it be done? Clay had said, Let it be done by drawing an east and west line, and assigning all south thereof to slavery, the northern division to freedom. This compromise served until the movement of emigration to the far west, and the Mexican war, raised the question whether the east and west line should be continued across the Continent to the Pacific. The Southerners assumed that it should, as a matter of right; but the North demurred. But the South had here the stronger logical position. What

Of course, the true answer was, that consistency itself is sometimes the worst of evils. But many of the North did not declare this; and they were at this disadvantage with the South, that whereas the latter had, in slavery, a positive point to urge and to fight for, the North had only an abstract and practically a negative one—that slavery ought not to extend. It was too late for them to assert that a country originally free ought never to become the seat of slaveholding; they should have made that objection at the time the Compromise was first urged. And the majority of them feared to be inconsistent; and they also feared the Constitution; and they also feared to shoulder the responsibility of severing the Union, which, in case they took the opposite course, the South threatened. For a threat it was, though disguised as an inevitable necessity. In short, the North hesitated and was weak.

The other contention of the South—that any slaveholder had the right to take his slaves with him and settle in any Northern state—though it was not carried out, was not relinquished, but was held in terrorem. It was useful as indicating how moderate, after all, was the Southern attitude—how much more troublesome they might be if they chose; and it lent color to their assertion that it was the North who was the aggressor. Upon the whole, therefore, it seemed, at the end of the Mexican war, as if the whole southwest was dedicated to slavery, and no help for it. Rather than break the Union, let it go at that!

But in the midst of these very human squabbles, through which no way appeared to peace with honor, there occurred one of those events which are termed, by way of distinction, Providential; because the hand of God is manifest in them, instead of being hidden, as usual. Far on the west of the continent, its fertile hills and valleys spreading broad be-

California. Under ordinary circumstances it would have taken a generation at least to settle this territory; and in the ordinary course it would have been divided, at best, between slavery and freedom. But at this moment a New Jersey man who was digging the channel of a mill race for a sawmill, happened to notice, in the gravel washed down by the stream, some grains of a yellow substance, heavy and metallic; which he picked up, tested, and found to be pure gold. Those grains had lurked there since the beginning of things, waiting the time to appear, and change the course of human history. One might moralize over the fact that mortal greed should be the means of preventing a great social catastrophe; but such speculations are vain, because the arc we can survey is so small compared with the whole sweep of the Divine round. Men are governed by their passions; a low age by low stimuli, a higher, by lofty ones. In 1849 the passion for gold, and what gold means, was sufficient to cause a shifting of the population, hitherto without parallel for its rapidity and extent. A half-built mill became a great city; a town of two thousand inhabitants became a city of twenty thousand; and all within a year. Loose atoms of humanity from every country of the earth gathered in California during little more than the lapse of a summer vacation, and those vast solitudes suddenly became peopled with the tumultuous and lawless crowd of gold-seekers. Lawless they were, at first, for there was none to enforce law; and the visions, and the reality, of sudden and great wealth dazzled out of view all other considerations. Here was a splendid wilderness, a nearly perfect climate, no conventions, no traditions, no restraints, no women at the outset. and when women came. they were generally but



to their physical lusts. At the end of each week, at the end of each day, they were ready to spend what they had found in drunkenness and gambling; if they lost what they had gained, they had but to dig up enough to replace it; if they won, there must be more debauch. The only safeguard, for a while, against a reign of universal confusion and mutual destruction, was the seemingly inexhaustible amount of the treasure; it was believed that the whole extent of California was gold thinly veiled by vegetation. Robbery was rare, and, when discovered, was terribly punished; fights were common, but they were almost always the outcome of drink, and, if they did not result fatally, were forgotten the next day. The common causes of enmity between man and man were here absent; there was enough for all so far as gold was concerned; and there were no materials for social or political feuds. Yet such a good-humored and dissolute anarchy could not indefinitely continue; because, for one thing, the continuous rush of emigration would finally occasion personal collisions; and because a life without law is sooner or later self-destructive. Even savages have their laws, or their superstitions, the organization of which takes law's place. But an aggregation of savages who have become so by degradation can only issue in mutual annihilation.

This, however, was not to be the destiny of California; and the reason was that the majority of the gold-seekers were Americans, or men of Anglo-Saxon lineage and instincts. That race cannot exist long without law; the sentiments of justice, equity and order are in their marrow, and must manifest themselves. They do not need kings or proph-

urer. These soon found one another out, and were united to one another by common thoughts and views. They became dominant over the chaotic mass; order cannot help dominating chaos, for it knows what it wants, and it always wants the same thing; whereas chaos knows and aims at nothing. In a surprisingly brief time therefore the Anglo-Saxon minority established laws and regulations in the midst of this roaring, seething, aimless multitude: such things might be done, such might not; this penalty waited upon this crime, that upon that. The Vigilance Committee took the place of Congress and President; the laws were liberal enough, but they were strict within their bounds. Men were hanged, flogged or banished, as the case might be; there was no appeal, and the community perceived that the laws observed a rough impartiality, securing to each man his own, and permitting no infringements. And while the diggers thus protected themselves, the opportunity of profit which trade afforded caused an immense influx of dealers of all sorts; and trade is necessarily orderly. Houses took the place of tents; streets replaced wandering foot paths; fixed property asserted itself on all sides, and was respected. There arose a pure democracy from the whirlpool of mobocracy; and it was rigid, in spite of its breadth, because mobocracy was its twin sister and might else be mistaken for it. It was an American community, and of course it was free; there could be no foothold for human slavery among such men. There were among them many who had been Southern slaveholders; but they never ventured to air their opinions there, far less to attempt to introduce their institutions. There would have been short shrift for them had they done so. Each man must work for him-

territory that involved, it is hardly possible that Americans would have gained control; England and other nations would have seized what they could; conflicting claims would have stirred up wars, California would have become a shambles, and would have been lost to freedom even had it not become wedded to slavery. Had gold been discovered later than it was, the Missouri line would probably have been drawn, with all that it implied. But as it was, gold saved California to America and to freedom in 1849; and incidentally it bred a race of men fitted by nature and temper to occupy that outpost of our nation, and make it rich and respected; for the solid residue of merit which stands after the flotsam and jetsam of weakness and disorder have been dispersed, comprises the very pith of mankind, which nothing can uproot. The Forty-Niners and their descendants came in good season to remind America what she contained of simple strength; and to renew on the Pacific the valiant traditions which had won the Atlantic coast from Europe.

The roads by which California could be reached were three; one across the breadth of the Continent, with peril of wild beasts, wild men, and wild and desolate nature; another by sea to Panama and across and up the coast to San Francisco; the third, round Cape Horn. All these routes were thronged, and all of them had their varying adventures and vicissitudes; the overland was perhaps the most picturesque and striking, and the strain and suffering were the longest drawn-out. But that story cannot be even outlined here; and it has been painted again and again in unforgettable colors by masters. Indeed, nothing in our history is stranger, more stirring, or better known than this so-called episode of the Argonauts. Bret Harte has told it all, perhaps

took immediate measures to assist in the formation of a stable government, and recommended that California be admitted as a state at the earliest moment. Though a Virginian and a slaveholder, he had no wish to see California ceded to slavery, and he knew that only violence could effect such a result. Let her come in on her own terms, said he; and he would have New Mexico also determine to which side she would adhere. This liberality offended the South and surprised them; they had not thought that a President of their own section, though a Whig, would thus oppose their policy; but they feared to denounce him, for his position, and the firmness which began to appear through his friendly straightforwardness, made him formidable. He was the President of the whole nation, not of any part of it only; and he did not fear the South, as many eminent Northerners did. When a delegation of Southern Whigs called on him to ask him to pledge himself to sign no bill with the Wilmot Proviso in it, he replied that any constitutional bill should have his signature. "If you send troops to coerce Texas, Southern officers will not obey your orders," they rejoined. This made the soldier indignant. "Then I will command the army in person," thundered he; "and if any man is taken in treason against the Union, I will hang him as I did the deserters and spies at Monterey." Plainly, this law-abiding, impartial, fearless President was not to be led by the nose by any one.

California had voted itself an anti-slave constitution; and with that constitution she should come in, if Taylor had his way. Nothing did he say about the Wilmot Proviso in his recommendation; there was no need for it, and he would

country further south—that shadowy southern empire which so many Southerners dreamed of at this time, after the secession which they contemplated should have been accomplished. The two causes began to count up their several champions in Congress, and to listen to what counsels they might give.

There was not much debating power of a high order in the House; but in the Senate there was more than enough. Besides the great discordant triumvirate of Webster, Clay and Calhoun, now making their last appearances in the arena, there were Seward, who was looming larger and clearer every day, Salmon P. Chase, Sam Houston of Texas, Benton, and Bell. Clay had meant to retire from Congress; he was overpersuaded to return; and though he came, as he thought, merely to look on, he remained to offer one more great compromise. He had his own ideas as to how the impending collision might be averted; it was not the President's idea, for Clay would take suggestions from no one; and his divergence from Taylor divided the Whigs and prepared their defeat. He brought in his proposal a week or so after the President's suggestions, and showed it previously to Webster, whose attitude was still in doubt. The plan, on the whole, greatly favored the South; but it contained measures intended to sweeten it to the Northern palate. California was to be admitted; but only on condition that she carried New Mexico and Utah on her back, and took her chances with them, which were not states but territories. The buying and selling of slaves in the District of Columbia was to be discontinued; but the fugitive slave law was to be enforced strictly. Texas, which had made an untenable claim to a large part of the soil of New Mexico, was to be bought off on terms favorable to her. The Wilmot Proviso was ignored, and the option of slavery or freedom was to be given to states applying for admission. It was manifestly

side such matters was abnegated. Both South and North had objections against the bill; and Jefferson Davis demanded that the slaveholders be permitted to bring their slaves into New Mexico without reference to legislation in that territory. The extension of the Compromise line was not demanded in Clay's bill; and this opened the whole question.

Three great speeches were made on the question, besides that great one of Clay's in which he introduced his measure. Calhoun's was written out, and was delivered for him by Mason, Calhoun listening to its delivery. He wished California to return to her territorial condition; he supported neither Taylor nor Clay, but hinted at secession as the probable solution of the problem. Unless South and North were given equal rights in the new territory, agitation of the slavery question stopped, and the Constitution amended to favor the South, then the South must leave the Union. The speech was able, but it was not creative, and it determined nothing. It was followed on the 7th of March by the famous speech of Webster, in which he took the course that brought upon him the hostility of the North, while failing to secure for him the full measure of Southern confidence. The true significance of Webster's attitude has been a bone of contention ever since; but it is certain that it destroyed his influence during the short remainder of his life. He never retracted the views he then expressed; and whether in his heart he believed that he had been mistaken cannot be known. He tried to achieve the impossible, and failed.

He professed to speak for the cause of the Union and of the Constitution; and as an American without party, and without reference to sections. He gave Clay's bill his support; he granted all the demands of the South, while denouncing as visionary Calhoun's idea of a peaceable seces-

extension. For him, the Union and the Constitution were paramount; no law of morality or of right and wrong could take precedence of them. In speaking, his eloquence was as great as ever; but the substance of what he said was profoundly disappointing. Upon a review of all the circumstances and conditions it does not appear likely that Webster intended any wrong; rather did he aim at a mark which seemed to be above mortal limitations, only because in truth it did not exist at all. Shooting his arrow in the air, he wounded his own friend. He wished to be an American; he would stand on equal ground between South and North, recognizing only his fellow-countrymen. He thought that by owning no leaning to partisan rancors on either side, he was asserting impartiality and independence. But what he really did was to confound morality with geography. A man's country is not its topographical particulars, but its highest spirit: its approximation to the ideal good and true. If the South were wrong, it made no difference that they were Southerners; if the North were right, it was no narrow partiality that should declare them so to be. If wrong seemed to be buttressed by the Constitution, that only proved that the Constitution was not infallible; if to champion the right imperiled the Union, that could only imply that the terms of our Union should be purified. Webster sought to be national; but he succeeded only in declaring a cynicism profounder even than Calhoun's. The powers of his great brain had been too strong for his moral integrity; for the sake of an outward good, he had refined away the barriers which divide between good and evil in the soul.

This error was not committed by the young Seward, who

and seemingly impracticable, though time has shown them to be as practicable as they were true. Seward would have no dealings with unrighteousness; he would not believe that this people needed for their safety to compromise with evil; rather did he have faith that their only real safety lay in doing right and trusting to God for the consequence. There is a higher law, he affirmed, than that of worldly prudence; and to that law he summoned us to be loyal. But he was heard with ears which for the most part were unbelieving. Calhoun, who made his last appearance in the Senate on this occasion, left it anathematizing this new man with his Promethean sword; and died within the month.

The immediate upshot of the debate was, that no one except Benton stood by the President; Clay and Webster, standing together against Taylor, divided the Whigs; it seemed an opportunity for the Democrats. A committee was got together to discuss the subject, Clay being chairman; it consisted of thirteen members, six Northerners and six Southerners besides Clay himself. Webster, though appointed, did not serve. While the committee was discussing, the treaty was signed which Clayton and Sir Henry Bulwer negotiated, regarding a proposed Nicaragua canal; the terms of which were that neither England nor the United States were to have exclusive control of it, and that no colonizing should take place; but it later transpired that England was secretly holding in reserve her alleged protectorate rights. The Canal, however, still remains in the limbo of projects unachieved.

Clay's committee reported in May; it inspired no enthusiasm, and the President was against it, though not demonstratively so. Congress showed a disposition to disentangle the California matter from the rest, and pass it independ-



the United States, which was New Mexico's guardian during her minority as a territory. He sent Colonel Monroe with troops to oppose the attempt at invasion of the Texans. When Crawford, the son of the Crawford of Jackson's era, refused to sign the order as Secretary of War, "Then I'll sign it myself," said the old soldier. And events were drawing to an interesting climax, when Taylor, stricken by cholera, suddenly died. Never did an American President, so far as one can humanly judge, die at a moment apparently so inopportune. "I've tried to do my duty," was his last utterance, on that 9th of July which was his last of earth. He had surely done his duty, with a purity and firmness never surpassed. He had done it well, as well as faithfully, and he was daily learning how to do it better. He loved the Union as much as Clay and Webster professed to do, but he would defend it not by compromises, but by putting down treason with the strong hand. He saw things in the large and the mass, and understood the right course to steer. Had he lived another year, either the war of secession would have taken place with him in the saddle for the Union, or it would never have taken place at all. But he died, because his time was come; and so made way for the immortal career of Lincoln.

Millard Fillmore, a good Whig, took the oath as President the same day that Taylor died. He was under the Webster-Clay influence, and Seward found his weight with the administration correspondingly decreased. The entire Cabinet resigned, and were replaced by Clay men. They were good men, and Webster was Secretary of State; but they made a cipher of the President. They favored compromise and conciliation; and the fate of Clay's bill, which had lately seemed so precarious, now bloomed with promise. But an unlooked-for spasm of virility in the Senate upset the

separation also modified the effect of the parts. To the outside mind, the difference might seem like that historic one 'twixt Tweedledum and Tweedledee; but the Congressional mind is on the inside always. The Clay Omnibus was set up, and patched together, and set a-going on its appointed course, looking quite the same as before the accident. Texas was bought off with a good slice of New Mexico and ten million dollars (of which Congress got its share); New Mexico and Utah were admitted territories, with option as to slavery; California was admitted on her own basis; and so on. Fillmore signed the bills as fast as they came in, the fugitive slave bill along with the rest. Clay retired, satisfied that he had saved the Union. Fillmore countermanded Taylor's military orders regarding the Texan revolt; and Webster was busy arguing down plain morality. But all his cringing under the Southern whip seemed to leave the South still unsatisfied; a convention of slave states to agree upon secession was called for; but either because they had no obvious leader to unite under, or because they began to think that they could get all they wanted without secession, no overt act of disloyalty was carried out. Give us back our runaway slaves, and never mention the word slavery in our hearing, and we may condescend to live with you—was the gist of the Southern dictum to the North. Still if a Northerner but ventured to look hard at a Southern gentleman, the threat of secession rang in his ears. Clay alone was superior to this petulance; "Never," he declared before the Kentucky legislature, "would I consent to a dissolution of the Union. If Congress ever usurps the power to abolish slavery in the states where it exists—but I am sure it will never do so—I will yield." This was manly on Clay's part, and all very well; but the fugitive slave act could not

negro without recourse or need of identification, and under any circumstances. That their action was legal, and that the South could get back its fugitives in no other way, were facts which had no effect in reconciling the North to the edict; there were many cases of resistance and rescue in Boston and elsewhere; and Webster was sedulous in prosecuting them, while the Attorney-General, Crittenden, declared the act to be constitutional. There is no question that the South and the administration were in the right in enforcing the law, since it existed; and if it ought not to have existed, why did not the North prevent it in Congress? If slavery were to be tolerated at all, then fugitive slaves were like runaway cattle, and honest folk were bound to return them to their owners. One of the plainest lessons of the situation was, that the people were no longer represented by Congress. But that was the people's fault. Webster arraigned Seward for venturing to set private conscience above law; a New York Whig convention split, some adhering to Fillmore and Webster, with the title of "silver grays," the others to Seward. Fusions with Democrats began. Boutwell was elected governor of Massachusetts by a coalition of Democrats and Free-soilers. Hamilton Fish, a Seward Whig, was elected to the House in New York. In Ohio, a free-soil state, Ben Wade, strongly anti-slavery, took the place of the veteran Ewing. Charles Sumner beat Winthrop for the Senate. Sumner was a big, good-looking, voluble Boston Brahmin, with high pretensions to culture, and hyperion hair; but he was a good offset to the arrogance of the Southern slaveholders in the Senate, being able, so far as words went, to give them quite as good as they brought. No one could exasperate them as he could; no one heeded their sensibilities so little as he; until the

the country. At this juncture, Fillmore's message cried "Peace—Peace!" when there was no peace; and Congress did nothing, nor was anything intelligible heard, except the tones of Clay's voice, preaching mutual forbearance.

But the people were tired of contention on the one monotonous point of slavery, and were also bewildered by the spectacle of men in whose integrity they could hardly help confiding, exhorting them to submission to the law, whether or not it conformed to what had vulgarly been considered morality. They needed a rest; and if persons more intellectual and better informed than they assured them that rest was not only compatible with honor, but essential to the preservation thereof, why should they not believe it? Secessionists at the South and Abolitionists at the North were alike reprov'd, not too violently; and the government sought to interest the nation in matters of commonplace business. The irreconcilables in the South amused themselves with plans of Central American and Cuban acquisitions, which took form in numerous filibustering expeditions, which met with uniform disaster; the final attempt on the part of the adventurer Lopez to stampede Cuba being extinguished by the killing or shooting of the entire band of five hundred men, and the "garotting" of the leader. Meanwhile the work of the country went on; railways were vigorously developed; the Collins Line of American steamers rivaled the Cunarders as an Atlantic ferry; the telegraph was extended, and the hum of industry was everywhere heard. Webster toured about the land making "compromise" speeches, and extolling the sanctity of the Constitution and the Union; meeting with applause everywhere save

against Austria. We cheered him, caressed him, passed resolutions and made speeches supporting his plea; but in the end, of course, were fain to let him depart with his mission unaccomplished. The gift that he lacked was the sense of humor which should have prevented him from expecting aid to freedom from a country which had just given its indorsement to slavery. But we could console ourselves, if not him, by celebrating the victory of our yacht "America" over the Queen's fleet at Cowes Regatta—the race in which there "was no second." We could build fast ships, at any rate!

All this while, the Democrats, in one way or another, had been pushing to the front, or toward it; and the apparent disposition at the South to let a Northern man have the Presidency gave them a better outlook than the Whigs. It was this campaign which first identified the Democratic party with the South; although the Whigs were the party of wealth and aristocracy, the South trusted more in the loyalty of the Democrats to those principles which they deemed vital. The Whigs omitted no act or profession of subservience which might ingratiate them with the South in the premises, and men like Cass and Buchanan tried to out-Herod Herod in their protestations; but that sort of thing may be overdone. The conventions of the two parties met in June, 1852, the fatal last year of Whigism. They had had the greatest statesmen in their ranks that America had produced; they had every opportunity to leave a record commensurate with their ability; but they had been timid and time-serving, and full of misfortunes. Now they were to suffer a crushing

have entered the race had he not hoped to win. He could not but believe that the invaluable support he had given the South would earn their gratitude; and he had omitted no means of persuading the North that the Compromise was their salvation as well. If he was not the representative American, who was?—and should not the representative American be the Americans' leader? Certainly Webster had one of the greatest brains of his century; and we may believe that he had at heart almost solely the welfare of his country, vitiated in a degree though that may have been with a deep-seated, life-long, passionate desire for his own personal triumph. But nothing is better established than that brains do not win the suffrages for the highest office of the brainiest people in the world—if we indeed are that. What exactly is sure to win their suffrages is another and far more abstruse question, into the intricacies of which we will not enter; but a predominating brain is not trusted; its possessor is too clever for common people to be sure what he may do. Had Lincoln's great brain not been balanced by a heart even greater, he would never have led this country through the Civil War; nor, of course, would he have been Lincoln.

The Democratic convention met first, on the 1st of June, and after five days' warm work, gave up the attempt to win with either Cass, Buchanan, Douglas or Marcy, and under the Jacksonian two-thirds rule, unexpectedly united upon the comparatively unknown Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire and of the Mexican War. He was a man who, without having committed himself one way or the other, had made no enemies, but was liked by all. A fortnight later the

it up at once, and grew savagely suspicious. Nevertheless, their array of candidates was so imposing, that one could hardly believe that they could all fail. The first votes showed Fillmore leading with 133 votes, Scott second with 131, and Webster almost out of sight in the rear with 29 only. But Webster believed that Fillmore would retire in his favor; he had also hoped that Clay, whose word was still potent in the party, would have declared for him; but in both expectations he was disappointed. Fillmore would not retire, and Clay had given his preference for Scott; and in the end, the vote stood, Scott 159, Fillmore 112, and Webster 21. That vote broke Webster's heart. Yet he survived Clay, who died soon after the Whig convention adjourned. There is deep pathos, if not tragedy, in the story of these two great men, who lost the crown for which they strove for the very reason that they strove for it so hard. Theirs was a noble ambition, but it sometimes stooped to means that were not noble to win. Of the two, Clay, perhaps, has the purer fame; but when we look for the benefits which Clay and Webster actually accomplished, we cannot but be amazed to find them so small. They concentrated the gaze of their contemporaries; they reached the topmost heights of oratory; they advocated and opposed many measures; but after all, we cannot deny that the country might have been better off politically if neither of them had entered public life.

At the polls, Pierce defeated Scott by a vote of 254 to 42. The Free-soilers showed no strength. The great Whig party disappeared from history, and left behind it no lasting or valuable achievement. It had tried to do things impossible, and had shrunk from doing what it might have done. But it sowed the seeds of a successor which was to win the

## CHAPTER THIRTY-FIRST

### *KANSAS*

**Y**OU may see a ship slipping smoothly through the blue ripples of a summer sea, with the sunshine broad on her sails and deck, and musical breezes whispering through her shrouds: and right across her path, dark, and lurid with strange hues, the awful menace of an approaching hurricane. Here is peace and well-being; yonder, war and destruction. Is the helmsman asleep? If not, let him furl those white sails betimes and batten down his hatches, or his ship will be crushed and sunk.

Fillmore, the amiable nonentity, firm only in his docility to the great men about him, had left the helm of State with warm prosperity all around him. He passed smiling over the side, and was carried safe ashore. He gave no warning order; he himself saw nothing to fear. Yet the tempest was all but on us; you might hear the moan of its rage from afar. And mainsail and foresail, stun'sail and topsail, were spread abroad, and the Stars and Stripes, emblem of freedom and power, floated aloft.

Meanwhile, upon the quarter-deck, appears the new commander, cheerful, hopeful and resolute; honest and faithful too, and a sailor born. He marshals his crew and



good brain, a brave heart, and a firm will. All is well; hear the shouting of the multitude from the wharf! And yet captain, crew, and shouting multitude, all are blind. The hurricane will smite the Ship of State, and she will lie on her beam ends, with the seas breaking heavily across her, her flag rent, her masts gone by the board. It shall be by the mercy of God only that she does not founder and go down.

Optimism and self-confidence are good qualities in a man or in a nation; but they should be molded by foresight and reason. It seems incredible, now, that we could have headed into the Kansas troubles, and through them into the Civil War, without realizing it. Yet so it was. It is useless to assert that we were shipwrecked deliberately. South Carolina had prattled of secession, no doubt, as a pretty woman threatens her husband with leaving him if he does not buy her a new bonnet; but nothing serious was meant. Abolitionists clamored for virtue or non-intercourse, and a million people read Harriet Beecher Stowe's new book; but the great common-sensible populace took it all with allowances, and said to themselves that the worst was probably over. Folks might chop at the Union with their little hatchets, but it would stand a great deal of such attack; and they might criticise the Constitution, but it was a very wise old document after all, and could be made wiser if necessary. That fugitive slave law was a nuisance, of course; a man doesn't like to have his house entered by a sheriff, and the attic and cellar ransacked for stray niggers; but, if he harbored the nigger, he knew what he was risking. As to the

a big country; but we are all Americans, and we can live and let live, and make money hand over fist.

Such was the general attitude of the country; if there were nervous persons here and there who mouthed disaster, such we have always with us. Franklin Pierce was a New Hampshire boy; he had showed the stuff he was made of in the Mexican War; he was clean-handed and incorruptible; he would be certain to do the North justice, and if he was fair to the South too, that is only what a President ought to be. He was a young man, too: barely fifty: and youth, with its courage, and its freedom from hampering entanglements, is a good ingredient in politics. He meant to do right, and so did we all; so how could things go wrong?

The fact is that a man or a nation may do right, while going all the while in a wrong direction; and it is the direction that tells. We were started on a wrong course; we were setting logical consistency against human nature; and the more correct and logical our consistency, the more certain were we to meet disaster. The Constitution had been so interpreted by the leaders of opinion as to sanction the Missouri Compromise and the fugitive slave law; the Constitution also permitted citizens of one state to reside in any other; the domestic concerns of individuals were of course sacred; and the extent of state rights was still undetermined, but the tendency of late had been to enlarge them. The existence of all these ingredients of gunpowder was conceded; there seemed to be no harm in any of them; and the fact that their combination would produce an explosion was not considered till too late.

On the journey to Washington a tragic accident befell the party of the President-elect. There was a railway collision: the car in which Pierce, his wife, and their son were

This act was characteristic of Pierce, who ever thought of others before himself. Many years afterward, when he was standing beside the grave of his wife, to whom he had been devotedly attached, listening to the words of the burial service, a life-long friend stood beside him. The winter wind blew cold across the grave; and Pierce, solicitous even in that moment for his friend, passed a hand over his shoulder to turn up the collar of his coat against the blast. The fiber of the man was intensely masculine, and his physical strength was exceptional: deep chest, lean flanks, wiry and tireless limbs: but with this masculine strength went an exquisite natural tenderness and courtesy, coming from the heart, and enriched with human sympathy. Once, when the daughter of a friend was lying ill of a disease which was likely to end fatally, Pierce used to come to the house day after day, and sit for an hour or so in the room with the anxious family; saying little, making no demonstration; but permeating and strengthening all with his deep, loving sympathy. Children loved him, and men and women acknowledged his sway. He was a conscientious man, with a high ideal of rectitude and duty. Like other public men of his time, he was accustomed to drink, occasionally to excess, and his strong social qualities aided this tendency; but when he entered the Presidential office, he wholly abstained from wine or liquor during his entire term. He was a striking figure to look at, erect and soldierly to the end of his life, with a step full of power; his hair was black and wiry, bushing at the ends. Such was the man who, because he steadily pursued the course that he believed to be right, made himself during his term, from one of the most popular, the most unpopular man who had held office.

could see only straight ahead; the path of what he thought his duty was narrow; and it led to calamity.

At first, however, all promised well, and the energy of the country was shown in the variety and energy of its activities. Traffic increased; the scandals of the municipal government of New York under Fernando Wood were already notorious; San Francisco was growing great under the stern rule of its Vigilance Committee; Oregon was becoming steadily populous; Lucretia Mott was setting in motion that movement for women's rights which claimed for the sex all masculine things, from trousers to the suffrage; and which is only now beginning to realize that women's privileges go further and fare better; and Neal Dow, the best exemplar of the value of his own opinions, was founding the Temperance Society. In short, our people were entering into the detail of life on all sides, trying experiments, laughing at failures, profiting by both failures and successes. Meanwhile Pierce, under agreeable auspices, was selecting his Cabinet, whose most prominent members were Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, William Marcy, Secretary of State, and Caleb Cushing, Attorney-General. Davis and Cushing seemed most near to the President; Marcy was older than the others, and less pronounced in his views. James Buchanan was sent to England. The President's address foreshadowed a reasonable home policy, and a firm foreign one; he pledged himself to carry out the Compromise of 1850; and throughout expressed a hearty confidence in the country's future. It was noticed that the Cabinet had rather a Southern look to it, as a whole; but since Pierce himself was Northern, that was good policy.

The first salient event of the administration confirmed the current good opinion of it. A Hungarian named Koszta, of

embryo American citizen; and threatened to bombard the Austrian brig if he were not given up. Marcy backed Ingraham up, and declared the rights all over the world of American citizens: much to the delight of our citizens at home, who have not always been so well vindicated since then. But it was plain that Pierce had not done all his fighting in Mexico; and the intimation from a member of his Cabinet that the annexation of further outlying territory would not necessarily meet with the opposition of the government was also taken in good part. The World's Fair opened in New York, in emulation of that in England, and was regarded as a good sign, though its financial success was not what might have been wished; but, upon the whole, we appeared to be getting on, and to be a great nation already. In this way we had covered the space between the inauguration and 1854. Then, all of a sudden, Stephen A. Douglas, a Vermont politician, at this time about forty-two years old, introduced what was known as the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Not much notice of Douglas had hitherto been taken by the country, though in Congress he was known as an effective speaker of the coarsely vigorous kind. He was small in stature, but with the voice of a stentor, and an uproarious manner of speaking, waving his arms, bellowing manfully in the ardent passages, and tearing off his stock in the heat of action to give himself breathing room. These intimations of the pressure of a great soul upon a small body caused him to get the nickname of the Little Giant. He was a Democrat, sprung from the ranks, but allied in sentiment with the South, and in favor of annexing territory in their behalf. That he was ambitious is certain; and he had brains above

too young to begin to play for those great stakes. The Kansas-Nebraska bill seemed to him a good way of beginning.

The essence of his political idea in the bill was to develop the discrepancy between the Missouri Compromise and the Compromise of 1850. The first forbade slavery above  $36^{\circ} 30'$ : the latter made slavery optional in all new territories. Douglas conceived—as the conditions gave him the right to do—that the Compromise of 1850 annulled the other. For if new territories could admit slaves if they liked, then by what authority could the restriction of  $36^{\circ} 30'$  be applied to them? If they happened to be south of the line, of course whatever force the restriction might have would be in favor of slavery; but if they were above the line, then they were justified in declaring that the later bill annulled the earlier one. For a hard and fast line, which was sure to do injustice to some one, was substituted the free choice of the settlers in the region; the wishes of the majority should rule them, as the Constitution declared and intended should be the case. Furthermore, the measure was rigidly impartial as between North and South; because, if a community south of the old line should prefer to dispense with slaves, they would be just as free to do so as would be the settlers in a northern district to introduce them. It was in accordance with the spirit of all American institutions that the people should live as they chose within the due limits of the law. This bill was not a slave measure any more than it was a free-soil measure; it was a national measure, and was in the line of true progress and development.

By what arguments should the position taken by this bill be overthrown? It could not be overthrown by any argument of principle; could it have been, this would of course have been done. It was vindicated by the Compromise of

liberty to do so "with or without slavery." And this was a knife that cut both ways; for what was to prevent the inhabitants of some southern region, applying for admission, from stipulating that slavery should not exist within their limits, and thus introducing free soil into the heart of slavery? The Southerners, in accepting the 1850 Compromise, had accepted this contingency; and it would be unjust of the North not to do as much. In fact, there, already, was California, part of which extended below 36° 30', which had come in as a free state, because the majority of its populace so desired. Turn and turn about is fair play.

The most obvious method of attack upon the bill was to maintain that the Missouri Compromise was not annulled by that of 1850. By way of testing this point, Dixon of Kentucky moved to amend the bill by repealing the Missouri Compromise. This prompted Douglas so to modify his bill as to pronounce the Missouri Compromise explicitly void; and it divided Nebraska into two territories, one called Nebraska, the other Kansas; in which popular or "squatter" sovereignty should obtain. "The object is not to admit or exclude slavery," said Douglas, "but to remove whatever obstacles Congress has placed in the way of it, and to apply to all our territories the doctrine of non-intervention." Should Congress, after debate, admit that the Missouri Compromise was void, what other objection could the opponents of the bill urge against it?

Before submitting it to debate, Douglas caused its provisions to be laid before Pierce by a committee of which Jefferson Davis, who approved the bill, was a member. Pierce listened to the reading of the bill, and then said,

80' line to be carried to the Pacific. Manifestly he had undergone a change of heart, since the Douglas bill was built out of the materials furnished by the 1850 act. As a matter of fact, he had opposed the latter without due consideration; now that he realized what could be done with it, his opposition vanished. As to the President, he could have no choice, as a Constitutional Executive, but to declare that the bill was in his opinion strictly Constitutional. He was there not to make laws, nor to find fault with them after they had been made; but simply to see that they were enforced. He could see no Constitutional flaw in Douglas's bill, and he so declared. Whether he personally liked it or not is another question, having no bearing upon his course. The President has great power, and is able in a degree to influence legislation; and Pierce, had he disliked this bill, and been able to give sound reasons against it, might have vetoed it when it came officially before him. But Pierce was a Democrat; he did not believe in antagonizing slaveholders or in abolishing slavery; and if the whole nation should express a desire for the extension of slavery, he would not have hindered them, any more than he would have hindered free soil extension, had that been the national preference. Obviously he could not foresee the disturbance and disorder which the squatter-sovereignty bill would make; neither could Douglas. The commencement of the mischief antedated all of them; it lay in allowing slavery to overstep its original boundaries at the time the Constitution was adopted. Had an amendment to that effect been carried then, as it probably might have been, all would have been well now; but what had been done since



that of the whole South. He and the South knew that, apart from abstractions, the Douglas bill would benefit them and not the North. No Southern communities would arise desiring the abolition of slavery within their boundaries; there was no propaganda in that direction; the only propaganda was that of slavery toward the North. Their assertion that the bill was impartial as between South and North was therefore lacking in candor; it was impartial in theory, but not in fact. Had the bill been equally favorable to both sections, it would have met with no opposition from the North; had it been equally hostile to both, it would never have been passed. It is to be observed, moreover, that although the interpretation of the 1850 Compromise was legally correct, the present outcome of it had not been realized by the people at the time; and it took them by surprise. We may say it was their fault; eternal vigilance is the price of liberty, and a free people are bound to foresee all contingencies of any act which their representatives pass. But in practice, the people commonly attend to their private business, and let politicians manage their politics; and though it is the duty of the politicians to protect the people against their own heedlessness, the counsel is one of perfection, and is not observed in practice.

The debate on the bill began in January and lasted nearly till June. Clay and Webster being no more, the debate lacked the eloquence it would otherwise have had; but Seward, Salmon P. Chase and Sumner were arrayed against the bill, and it made their reputations. They had not much logical material to work with, but they made a stubborn fight. The bill discharged Congress of responsi-

be a slaveholder's plot to spread slavery over the Union. But to ascribe sinister motives to a given action is not the same thing as proving the action itself to be unlawful. Be that as it might, the indignation aroused by the bill at the North was vehement; the friendly feeling toward the South, which had been growing up, was dispersed at once. The battle was fought in the Senate with no mincing of phrases; but the majority was in its favor, and the vote which sent it to the House on the 3d of March was a majority of twenty-three. The House resorted to all manner of parliamentary tactics, in addition to mere argument, to support or defeat the measure; but on the 22d of May tactics came to an end, and the bill was passed, with unimportant amendments, by 113 to 100. The Senate now reconsidered it, and passed it on May 26th without a division. On the 30th it went to the President, who signed his name to it, and it became the law of the land. The peculiar feature of this lamentable affair is, that the bill was an entirely gratuitous one. The settlers in Nebraska had never asked for it; they had assumed that the 36° 30' line settled their status. Had it not been for Mr. Douglas, reasoning in vacuo, the bill might never have been born. That it was born, therefore, lends color to the suspicion that Douglas may have conspired with certain Southern leaders to take this means of advancing slavery. That is an inference, and a strong one; but of positive proof there is none. Douglas must bear the odium of the doubt. But the plot, if there were one, was very limited in its membership; the South at large, in and out of Congress, however much the bill may have gratified them, had no more to do with it than to take it when it was offered them. Whoever else was in the plot, Pierce certainly was not; he had nothing to gain by the bill, and it cost him his political future.

to an indiscretion, the presence in the house of a Boston citizen of a fugitive slave, Anthony Burns by name, was revealed; and a sheriff came to Boston and tried in vain to persuade the man to return with him peaceably. He then brought a writ of arrest. When this became known, there was a riot, which could barely be put down by military force. A meeting convened in Faneuil Hall, and Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker fanned its flames. The excitement continued for a week; a rescue was tried and failed. Another week was consumed in the trial of the case before Commissioner Loring. The only possible result occurred; Burns was decided to be a fugitive slave, and it was decreed that he return to slavery. The law must be obeyed; but the Boston people were very angry, and their anger generally had meant something. They draped their houses in black, and hissed the procession that took Burns to the ship; and he was the last fugitive slave to be taken out of Boston.

The fugitive slave law had no ostensible connection with the Squatter Rights bill; but the inflammation caused by the latter affected the Northern sensitiveness regarding the former. The judge who tried the case was dismissed, for deciding it according to law; inventions were elaborated to defeat the law by delays, if it could not be broken; and as for Anthony Burns, he was bought back from his Southern master by subscriptions and enabled to become a free Bostonian. Possibly the South would have been willing to accept an extension of the same idea, and sell all its slaves to the North at a fair price; but the proposition was not made.

Whatever happened now was interpreted as a new symptom of Southern plots against the peace and liberty of the realm. General Quitman, an inextinguishable disquietist,

had few followers in the South, but he was regarded in the North as the would-be founder of an independent Southern empire. Walker of Nicaragua (as he was later called) sailed with a picturesque band of adventurers for La Paz, in Southern California, and appropriated the place, issuing a picturesque proclamation to the inhabitants; but the support he had counted on failed him, and he had to come back. Gadsden made an official treaty with Mexico, fixing our boundary line a little further south, in order to get space for a projected railway. The North regarded all these movements with the same suspicion; though only the latter had the support of the administration; Pierce rigidly suppressed the filibustering tendency, to the disappointment of Southern agitators; but he was as alert to enforce the Constitution against them as he had been to declare the validity of the Kansas-Nebraska bill. Both sides called him sectional, because he was impartial.

But it was impossible for him, or for any man, to please both sides in this quarrel. If he kept his oath to preserve the Constitution and the Union, he must inevitably anger first one party and then the other, or both at once. The people and the Constitution—or the several interpretations of it—were at odds; Sumner touched the point when he replied to Butler, "I swore to support the Constitution as I understood it—not as it was understood by others." The divergence between the two sides was of sentiment and morality, and the attempt of either to support it on legal grounds was natural, but futile. It would have to be accommodated, if at all, in other ways.

The fear of slavery extension, the danger of which was real, but immensely exaggerated, drove the discordant parties of the North to make common cause: free Democrats, old Whigs, Free-soilers rallied under a common impulse, and

manifesto in Congress was issued by George W. Julian and other reformers, and it affirmed that the free states had no longer any guarantee for the freedom in territories which former compromises had promised, and that with this guarantee had vanished all assurance of harmony and union between all the states. It charged that the South contemplated conquering or buying Cuba and parts of Mexico, and seeking an alliance with Russia against the other European powers, taking advantage of the Crimean war. Brazil, according to these memorialists, was to be made a center of Southern slavery, and when all was prepared, the South proposed to dissolve her connection with the rest of the United States, and set up an empire of her own. Southern leaders replied to the manifesto by remarking that they had never seen a production which "contained in so few words so much fiction and pure imagination." It is difficult, as Burke had observed many years before, to draw an indictment against a whole people; there were men in the South who aimed at all that Julian charged, and more; but there were innumerable more who projected or desired nothing of the kind. These reachings-out into the unknown were a natural manifestation of an active and restless race, avid of new experiences; but there was nothing awful or wicked in them. And most of the people wished chiefly to stay at home and mind their own business.

The movement to unite at the North was steady but not so rapid as the extremists would have wished. State conventions were called, and some progress was made. It was at this time that the Know-Nothings became prominent; they wished to "put none but Americans on guard":—a sentiment which was sure to find expression in a new nation which had begun to feel the pressure of unassimilated material from the

Catholicism came under the ban of the new society, which was strictly secret in its operations; but a war against a religious faith could never succeed in a land devoted to religious freedom. The Know-Nothings were strong for a while, though never so strong as was imagined; they got into politics, and nominated candidates; Gardner was elected governor of Massachusetts by their ballots; but the attitude of neutrality which they were obliged to assume between slavery and its opponents was sure, at a time like this, to bring them between the two stools to the ground, as soon as they aimed at the Presidency. Only while the elements of opinion were still in solution, before finally crystallizing, could they, or any new combination, obtain a hearing.

Abroad, meanwhile, some minor treaties, looking to improvements of commercial relations, and of the fisheries, were concluded; and at a conference of our ministers held in Ostend in October, 1854, the purchase of Cuba from Spain for a maximum sum of one hundred and twenty million dollars was advocated. If Spain declined the transaction, the suggestion was thrown out that we might compel her to give it by force; Russia acting as our ally and co-beneficiary in the enterprise. But Pierce would not support any such scheme; Russia had enough to do with England and France in the Crimea; and Spain made reparation for the "Black Warrior" outrage. Soule, who had been our minister to Spain, and the chief agent in the affair, resigned in discouragement and returned home. On the other hand, Perry succeeded in establishing commercial relations with the hitherto hermit empire of Japan, and curiosities and utilities from that fascinating corner of the world began to be seen

attitude of the North; many Southerners believed what the President had long before affirmed—that the bill favored freedom, and that its passage would prevent the addition of any more slaves states to the Union. It was not likely, on the face of it, that a territory north of 36° 30' would be settled by more Southern than Northern men. But a panic had been started at the North, and there is no reasoning with panic. And again, the sight of this panic aroused the South to its opportunity of rescuing the region in question from the free soilers; and so the fight began. If the South could not get Kansas, it could hope for nothing else above 36° 30'. Oregon, Minnesota, and the other northern territories were beyond Southern reach; if the South could not expand northward, they were certain to be in a minority ere long. And if, as they believed, Northern supremacy meant abolition of slavery everywhere, evidently this was their death-struggle as members of the Union. The only alternative was secession; and that meant a death-struggle too.

But Missouri, a slave state, bordered upon Kansas, and the South had a chance there. Living or roaming along the border were numbers of rough characters, with a whisky bottle in one pocket and a revolver in the other, who were ripe for any enterprise. There was no real colonizing ability in the South; they were lacking in the business faculty which prevailed in the North—and assumed to be proud of the fact; but by means of this class of men they could seize the land. There were already slaves in Kansas; and the movement to take possession for slavery was led by Atchinson of Kentucky, president of the Senate, a strong slavery sympathizer and a man of defiant energy. The borderers

time or manner in which the choice for or against slavery in a territory should be made, there seemed every likelihood that Kansas was lost to freedom.

But there were in the North also men of energy, not restrained by scruples too fine-spun. Eli Thayer was one of these; and he suggested a plan for Northern colonization of the disputed land. There was plenty of material in the North; free laborers and lusty emigrants, who were qualified to take hold of a new country and reduce it to fruitfulness and civilization. Thayer, after some tentative agitation, dubbed his plan the New England Emigration Aid Society, and in July, 1854, it began operations. Other similar Kansas Leagues were formed, and large bodies of free soilers, with their wives and children, when they had any, were transported to the point of interest. Hereupon Stringfellow, a supporter of Atchinson, tried to get Congress to help arrange a Southern colonization scheme to counteract the Northern one; but though Southern members approved the plan, they could not provide it with practical support; so Atchinson and Stringfellow were forced to rely on maneuvers at the polls to effect what they could not do by more legitimate means. They dumped hundreds of fraudulent voters into the territory, who remained there only long enough to flourish their revolvers, drink their whisky, and cast as many votes as they pleased for slavery; and then went home again. The Northern colonists had not provided themselves with any other tools than those of peaceful agriculture, and were somewhat overawed by these demonstrations; so that the total pro-slavery vote, when counted, was a good deal more than the total number of genuine settlers in the territory. A gentleman named Reeder, inclined to anti-slavery, was sent out by Pierce as territorial gov-



position of trust, decided all questions in their favor. The legislature, meeting at Shawnee Mission, instead of at Pawnee, as the governor had directed, unseated all but a fraction of the free-soil minority, and that fraction retired voluntarily in dismay. Reeder still protesting, the now unanimous legislature charged him with being corruptly interested in real estate in Pawnee; and this accusation, being supported in other quarters, was laid before Pierce, who, as in duty bound, suspended Reeder from his office. Pro-slavery measures of the most radical and menacing sort were now passed by the legislature, and there was none to say them nay.

But however corrupt might have been the means by which this legislature got elected, and however violent might be its behavior and measures, it was all done in the form of law, and had legal sanction until, by Constitutional means, it should be discredited. Any attempt to ignore or supplant it otherwise would be revolutionary. It was the misfortune of the Free-soil party to put themselves in a revolutionary attitude; and the circumstances went far to justify them, since time was of importance in a struggle of this kind, and unless something were done without waiting for the slow processes of judicial examination, Kansas would be lost forever. The pro-slavery party had committed a crime, but under the screen of the law; the anti-slavery people were doing right, but the law pronounced them wrong. This state of things is always difficult to manage, and those who engage in it must be prepared to take the consequences.

The unauthorized convention of the Free soilers met at

peka. Reeder was chosen delegate to Congress, and election day was appointed on October 9, 1855, a week or so later than the election day of the "regular" legislature. But the pro-slavery voters still distanced their rivals in the fertility of their repeaters. Each party, of course, ignored the other. In October the Free-soilers sent delegates to Topeka to frame a constitution and apply for admission as a state. At this juncture arrived on the scene the new governor sent by Pierce to supply the place of Reeder; his name was Shannon, and he was of a hasty temperament; without waiting to inquire into the merits of the case, he denounced the Free-soilers as revolutionists, traitors, and breeders of insurrection; all of which things they were, technically; but in the condition that Kansas was, one should modify one's expressions. As a matter of fact, they were honest men, as this world goes, who were trying to remedy a crying abuse. There could be no possible agreement between slaveholders and free-soilers living side by side in the same territory or state; and civil war really existed in posse, if not in actuality.

The President's regular annual message was not strongly accented as regarded Kansas; but soon after he sent another message to Congress which denounced the irregularity of the late proceedings, and called for the repression of Reeder, who had not yet purged himself of the charges which had compelled his retirement. The message also called attention to the unconstitutional character of the laws lately passed by Massachusetts, forbidding any aid of State troops, officials or buildings in executing the fugitive slave acts, and penal-

was inevitably bad, and the less attention was called to it, the better, for the present.

But hard words were common at this epoch; and Senator Sumner paid dear for his contribution to the supply of them in Congress. Sumner was a very egotistic and supercilious personage, with a fine command of invective, and a scholarly touch which was not always at the command of his Southern opponents. In reply to their "arrogant, old-plantation strain" he brought shafts bitterly barbed, which exasperated his adversaries none the less for the truth which winged many of them. The custom in the South, among gentlemen, was to resent an affront by some physical remonstrance, such as a slap on the face, and then to await the demand of the smitten party for the "satisfaction usual among gentlemen." Sumner, a broad-shouldered, athletic man, in the prime of his age and strength, had been particularly rasping to the personal sensibilities of Butler of South Carolina, a man in the decline of life. The latter made no demonstration; but he had a nephew, a young ass by the name of Preston Brooks; and Brooks, taking unto himself a friend of the same kind and caliber named Keitt, went to the Senate Chamber two days after Sumner's speech, and found the latter writing quietly at his desk, and looking for anything but violence. Brooks and Keitt had canes—that of Brooks being of black rubber, not very formidable to look at, but capable of giving a sharp and painful blow. Advancing abruptly upon the seated Senator, "You have libeled the State of South Carolina and my aged relative!" shouted the gentlemanly ruffian, at the same time fetching the object of his rage a violent blow on the head, which bewildered him and brought blood, and following it up with many more blows on the back and

floor with iron screws, and he was unable to rise. The effort he made to do so was so vigorous that it partly tore the desk from its moorings, and strained his own back so severely that for years he was a partial cripple. Having accomplished this dastardly "vindication" of South Carolina and his aged relative, Brooks was removed; and public sentiment would have supported Sumner had he called him out and shot him. Men who use words as Sumner used them should be prepared to make them good in any manner the aggrieved may propose. But Sumner was conscientiously opposed to dueling, and he went to Europe to recover his health, and posed as the first martyr of the anti-slavery cause; while Brooks, having made his one bid for immortality, expired by natural processes not long after. History will probably decide that too much sympathy was lavished upon Sumner; but one can hardly be too unrelenting in one's condemnation of Brooks, and of the type he stood for.

In Kansas, things continued to go from bad to worse. Shannon, the new governor, demanded and got United States troops to restore what he was pleased to call order; and a pro-slavery mob marched on Lawrence and sacked and wrecked it. A Congressional committee, of which John Sherman, then a young man, was a member, was appointed to go to Kansas and find out what really was the matter. After examining and reducing to writing the testimony of over three hundred witnesses of all shades of opinion, they made a report declaring that the pro-slavery people were in the wrong, and that Kansas ought by right to be a free state. A bill to admit it accordingly under its Topeka constitution was passed in the House, but could not get through the Senate.

taken once more to redeem Central America from the evils under which that fagot of countries was supposed to be suffering. There had been a revolution in Nicaragua; and Walker arrived there with his followers in season to set up a native adventurer named Rivas as President, he assuming the modest post of commander-in-chief, but, as a matter of fact, pulling the strings of the administration. At his instance, a minister was sent to Washington to demand recognition of the new Republic; and all being as regular as Spanish-American affairs could ever be expected to be, the President received the minister with courtesy. But Walker's government did not last long; the other Central American States combined against him, and he was forced to return to America. But he was an irrepressible spirit, and only death could quiet him. He met it in Honduras in 1860, in accordance with the sentence of a native court-martial.

The fact that recruiting for the English army was proved to have been carried on in Philadelphia and other American towns, and that a British squadron had been offensively conspicuous in the West Indies, combined with disagreements over the execution of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which Buchanan had been unable to arrange, made war with England again seem probable; and Pierce's message on the subject was decidedly warlike. But the English retired from their position with unusual promptitude, and Lord Derby made the most cordial professions of friendly regard. It would be a curious speculation what effect this war, had it broken out, would have had upon the relations between South and North in America. Would a common cause have renewed our Union?—or would the end have found us two separate countries with a divided and enfeebled destiny?

and the Democrats faced each other for the final struggle at the polls. Pierce and Buchanan were the candidates of the latter; the former chose Fremont. The Convention which nominated him met in Pittsburgh, and officially adopted the name of Republicans—the party of Reform. The Know-Nothings nominated Fillmore, but they were overwhelmingly defeated, and disappeared thenceforth from national politics. The Republicans did not expect to win, but to prepare the way for victory when their cause and aims should have become better understood. They included many stray remnants of minor organizations, and not a few wild-eyed enthusiasts who wished reform to be carried to ideal lengths. The platform declared for the Union and Constitution, respecting the rights of states, but giving Congress supreme power in territories to prevent, not to encourage, slavery. It called slavery and polygamy twin relics of barbarism, and demanded their abatement. It asked the admission of Kansas with a free constitution.

The National Democratic Convention met at Cincinnati, and upheld the Kansas-Nebraska act and the fugitive slave law; recognized state rights within limits, and commended the attempt to ameliorate the state of affairs in Central America. It paid a high compliment to the administration of Franklin Pierce; but the shrewd politicians who composed the Convention well knew that Pierce had been too steadfastly impartial in his loyalty to the Constitution to hope for support either from South or North; and the first ballot gave Buchanan the advantage. Pierce presently withdrew his name and the choice of Buchanan was made unanimous, and the war of Secession inevitable. But, for that matter, the South had already announced, through several of her

## CHAPTER THIRTY-SECOND

*JOHN BROWN*

**J**AMES BUCHANAN, in private life a bland and entertaining old gentleman of between sixty and seventy years of age, was, as President of the United States, able to command the respect and regard of neither South nor North. The difference between him and Pierce, his predecessor, and holding the same political faith, was marked. The latter was a man of rigid principle, strictly impartial between South and North, and resolved to uphold the Constitution and preserve the Union, without regard to what men or what party he might conciliate or alienate by so doing. Because he satisfied his own conscience, he forfeited the political support of party men on both sides, and went into retirement because he was too courageous and sincere to sacrifice conviction for place. Buchanan, on the contrary, though he declared that he was no candidate for a second term, and that he therefore could have no object in view but the welfare of the country, was from the beginning an abject truckler to Southern wishes and dictation. His principles were a sickly mush of compromise, trickery, and underhand intrigue in support of slavery. His public utterances were uncandid and often prevaricating; his decisions were often cowardly and against the dictates of morality. Yet the

of spirit and honor, and though he would condescend to use a tool like Buchanan, would kick him aside when he could no longer serve his turn. This seems an anomaly:—that a man of age and experience, with some reputation to lose, should adopt a course so inexpedient, to say the least of it, with no other result than the sort of pitying ignominy which attaches to those who have done evil without being positively evil themselves. The explanation is to be sought in the fiber of the personal character: Buchanan was a sort of soft-natured snob, who dreaded stern collisions, and the forcing of difficult passes; who wished everything to go with a smirk and a slide, who courted the strongest, and who, believing the Southerners to be the stronger, paid his assiduous court to them. He tortured the unhappy Constitution to make it fit their will, and even professed his services to alter it to suit them if possible; he affronted morality, and juggled with phrases, to make the worse appear the better reason; but all his labor and sweat were in vain; he left the country on the verge of the most dangerous abyss that could ever threaten it, which might have been avoided altogether by a President of firmness and moderate genius. He was an illustration of the familiar fact that weak men do more harm than bad men, in public as well as in private relations. Buchanan had brains, sagacity, and knowledge of affairs; and he was what ladies would call a nice old man; there may have been moments in our history when he might have filled the Presidential office without doing any harm; but at this supreme juncture he was no better fitted for it than would have been an English butler, suave, apologetic and jesuitical.

Hardly had he reached the steps of the White House than he began his prevarication. His inaugural address must perforce contain a reference to the burning question as



the United States. This negro, Dred Scott by name, had so long ago as 1838 brought suit to recover his freedom on the plea that his master had taken him into a free state; he had been ever since used by lawyers on both sides of the question as an anvil on which to hammer out their views and arguments. After having won and lost several times, the moment for the final decision had arrived. Not only was the Supreme Court about to pronounce its verdict, but it had already arrived at it; and it is not to be supposed that the President, with whose politics the majority of the Court was in sympathy, could have been ignorant of the direction in which their opinions would incline. Nevertheless, in his inaugural, he deprecated excitement on the matter, remarking that the judgment of the Court was about to be given, and that, whichever way it went, he should loyally uphold it, and trusted the country would do the same. A few days later, the judgment was pronounced, and it consigned Dred Scott to slavery. Had this conclusion been reached before the elections, it is nearly certain that Fremont instead of Buchanan would have been President; for, coming as it did on the top of the Kansas troubles, it would have warned the people against admitting a slave sympathizer to the highest office. Of the whole Bench, two judges only, McLean and Curtis, dissented. The verdict had this peculiarity, that it first disposed of the case by declaring that no negro of African descent could be entitled to be plaintiff before a court. This ended the matter; but after this the Court went on to give a gratuitous opinion as to the merits of the situation. Having denied the man's citizenship, they said that the Mis-

on special reasoning, and ignored the true merits of the question, as well as the views of such giants of Constitutional law and the principles of human rights as Jefferson and the English Mansfield. Dred Scott, the individual, was afterward freed by the voluntary act of his master; but the precedent thus established remained as a menace to peace and freedom in America.

Governor Geary of Kansas came up to Washington after the inauguration to discover the drift of things, and perceiving that it was hostile to him, he resigned his office. R. J. Walker, an honest man, was sent out as his successor, his avowed aim being to support the will of the majority. The indictments against the political defendants were quashed, and Robinson was set at liberty; and as a means of arriving at a satisfactory settlement, Walker advised the free state men to abandon the Topeka principles and submit their cause to the polls under the legally established regime. Not without misgivings, this was agreed to; and the result showed a large preponderance of free state votes. But the pro-slavery men were not going to yield so easily; and under the lead of a political scoundrel named Calhoun—no relation of the great statesman—the plan was evolved of foisting a slave constitution upon the country without submitting it to the people; thereby annulling the value of the late vote for freedom. Not all of the legislature would agree to this, however; and a compromise finally was made by which the question should be submitted to the people whether they would have the constitution with slavery or without slavery: leaving all the rest of the articles of the constitution to be accepted in any event:—and they were so framed as practically to make slavery inevitable. Walker protested against this swindle, and went

tution, the free state supporters came out, and reversed the verdict; and the final result of the whole Kansas struggle was, that the pro-slavery men were utterly defeated, though the result of the trial was kept as long as possible from being made known, and the admission of Kansas as a free state was postponed until there should be a census of 93,000 inhabitants. Meanwhile Walker had resigned.

The Dred Scott decision and the Kansas muddle had created much indignation and uneasiness in the North; but during the autumn and winter of 1857 there was another period of financial and business disaster, due to too reckless borrowing of money on all sides, relying on an impossible standard of prosperity to make money good. Banks again suspended payment, towns went bankrupt, there were widespread mercantile failures, and all looked pinched and gloomy. In this state of things, the people were disinclined to go to dangerous lengths in politics, and the election showed no very decided condemnation of the administration. But upon the whole, the Democrats appeared to be losing their cohesion, while in Congress there was a compact minority in opposition. Buchanan however was imprudent enough to urge the admission of Kansas as a slave territory, in defiance of the patent preferences of its inhabitants; and at this juncture Douglas himself, who was responsible for the whole Kansas imbroglio, came out with an unexpected protest against the conduct of the administration. Whether or not his new attitude was sincere may be questioned; it had the appearance of being a courageous act, alienating many Southern adherents; and it was undoubtedly a step in the direction of justice. But Douglas was far from lacking in political insight, and one is disposed to ask whether he might not have thought this a good way of bringing himself again

and later on he showed symptoms of wishing to hedge somewhat on his valiant attitude; but the secret heart of a politician is an obscure place to grope in, nor does what one finds there often reward the pain of search. The House voted for an investigation of the Kansas proceedings; but Orr, the Speaker of the House, by appointing a committee of pro-slavery men, succeeded in stifling the matter. There were prolonged and disorderly debates, in which drunken members from Southern states called Northerners bad names, and denounced Northerners in general as the "mudsills of society." This had no special bearing on the merits of the topic under discussion; but Jefferson Davis spoke to the point when he recommended keeping United States troops in Kansas, to keep down "disorder." He had perceived, before the end of Pierce's administration, as Secretary of War, that war was likely to occur in these States, and had conducted the affairs under his supervision with an eye to preparing the South for that contingency.

Kansas did not monopolize the disorders of the country; far away on the further side of the Continent the new community of Utah came into collision with the government. Brigham Young had been the governor chosen by the people, and accepted under the Pierce administration; and he was not only the temporal ruler of the people, but their religious head as well. Buchanan, not appreciating this peculiarity, thought to supplant him by an appointee of his own; and sent out a gentleman of good character named Cumming; and apprehending that in so remote a wilderness contingencies might arise, he caused a detachment of regulars to accompany him. His only mistake was in not having sent regulars enough: Young and his Mormons defied him

away with the unfaithful. Buchanan was equal to this emergency, however, inasmuch as politics were not concerned in it; and he sent out more troops, until the Mormons succumbed. But whatever might be their external aspect as to allegiance to the United States, their true head would always be Brigham Young, so long as life remained in his stalwart and defiant body.

As time went on, the administration lost more and more its hold upon the country. For the first time in twenty years Pennsylvania ceased to support the South. A contest which aroused general interest was that between Douglas and Lincoln in Illinois. They were both of them picturesque men on the stump, though of very opposite styles, principles, and appearance: Lincoln being six feet four inches in height, and of comparatively rustic bearing, and homely speech; while Douglas was a manikin in height, though big enough in brain and energy. Lincoln was a humorous, but straightforward and logical reasoner; Douglas had all the tricks of the demagogue and a great gift of becoming hail-fellow-well-met with "the boys." His principles were of the *laissez aller* order as regraded slavery; he professed to care nothing about it one way or the other on sentimental or moral grounds; he would have it let alone where it was, but would not advocate its being violently forced upon a free majority; let it expand toward Mexico and Cuba, if it would. Lincoln finally cornered him with a question growing from the Dred Scott decision: What had he to say about the right to hold slaves in a territory by virtue of the federal compact? Douglas replied that without prejudice to the Supreme Court view, if a peo-

**Presidential aspirations.** The South would demand perfect explicitness in the support of slavery, in their candidate. Although, therefore, Lincoln lost the immediate prize of the senatorship, he prepared the way for defeating Douglas for the Presidency. But he, also, had uttered a sentiment which was remembered against him by the South: "A house divided against itself cannot stand: I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . It will become all one thing or all the other." The idea here expressed was the same as that of Seward: "the irrepressible conflict." These two men were already the most eminent in the Republican party; Seward had the best chance of being chosen the standard-bearer; but the bridge is not crossed until one comes to it.

The manifest defeat of Buchanan's effort to win Kansas for the South prompted him to seek compensation for them elsewhere; and in his message at the opening of the year 1859 he recommended expansion in Mexico and the South American countries. There were always disturbances there sufficient to form a pretext for military interference, if the United States were set upon it; but his suggestions were not taken up. Cuba could not be got by purchase, and there was no likelihood that the Cubans would co-operate in an attempt to shake off Spain. Moreover, England and France were opposed to our annexing any more territory, and took such measures to prevent it as might be effective without being too obvious. But England was led into the mistake of rousing our susceptibilities as to the right of search, which they were always claiming, in season and out, and which they now sought to practice on the plea of checking the violation of the slave trade law. The government at once sent

The previous year had not gone by without further advance in the line of scientific improvement; an Atlantic cable was laid, and messages exchanged; but the cable soon broke, and was not permanently re-established till after the war. More important, for the moment, was the discovery of coal oil in Pennsylvania, by which great fortunes were made in record time, and a beautiful region was, incidentally, transformed into a lurid wilderness. Horse railroads were running in most of the great eastern towns; Arctic exploration continued; rowing regattas were held between Yale and Harvard; Heenan and Morrissey fought in the prize-ring, and Thackeray, greatest of English novelists, read his lectures on the Four Georges to the descendants of those who had thrown off their yoke and forgotten it. Music and the drama were developed, and literature had now achieved an importance which compelled recognition outside of this country. It was a larger and richer life, though much of it assumed trifling and frivolous forms. The people wished to be instructed in the lore of the world, and the lyceum bureaus brought information to them through the mouths of eminent lecturers. But most of this quasi-intellectual activity was at the North; the South, like the English aristocracy, affected to look down upon such things with good-natured scorn. They stuck to politics as the proper pursuit for gentlemen. Three eminent Southerners, Rhett, Davis and Alexander Stephens, made speeches advocating the enactment by Congress of a slave code directly protective of the institution; and also demanding that the slave trade be permitted to such states as chose to practice it. They continued to seek

South, and the echoes of which lasted through the war, and after it.

In the year 1800 there was born at the little town of Torrington, Connecticut, of a family which claimed Pilgrim origin, a child named John Brown. When he was six years old, his family removed to Ohio, where the boy learned the tanner's and currier's trade; and when he was a man grown, he became a wool merchant. But misfortune pursued him in all his efforts to make a living; while on the other hand he bred a family of patriarchal dimensions. But he was an earnest though narrow thinker, and one who wished to carry his thought into act; he had been deeply impressed by the anti-slavery lucubrations of Garrison's "Liberator," and emigrating to Kansas in 1855, he became active against the pro-slavery part of the community. Sorrow, disappointment and hardship, as well as the old Pilgrim strain in his blood, had made him a fanatic; and the good and bad qualities of the type were strongly accented in him. In his conflicts with the slaveholders he was helped by his sons, and saw more than one of them die; on his part, he slew without compunction, and would drag inoffensive persons out of their beds and kill them, for no other crime than holding opinions which he deemed damnable. At Ossawatimie he defeated with a small band a greatly superior force of Missouri invaders; and the exploits of this action gained him the title of Ossawatimie Brown, by which he was afterward known. He was a very formidable personage, inconvenient to those who were in general sympathy with his anti-slavery ideas, as well as terrible to his avowed enemies. He was prepared for anything; and the arts of diplomacy were beneath his



heap of disordered hair piled up on his tall, narrow head; a long tangled beard, and a bony, athletic frame. His eyes gazed out sternly from beneath his rugged brows, and his manner was grave and harsh. But there was in him indomitable courage, and the iron fiber of the old Covenanters. His almost savage manhood, however, was not destitute of its tender side, which was noted and marked by his intimates and biographers; but it may be said of him, as of others, that nothing in old John Brown's troubled life so well became him as did the closing scenes of it.

In 1858 he had already conceived his grotesque plan of emancipating the blacks single-handed, and by force. It is needless to say that he despised politics and politicians. He had seen slavery talked against for many years, and it was now more strongly established than ever. He understood that the moral reprobation with which the North professed to regard slavery was not strong enough to induce them to lift a hand to crush it; they would prate of the Union and the Constitution, and let "I dare not" wait upon "I would." But John was withheld by no constitutional scruples; he had seen those he loved die, and he had slain men in cold blood with his own hand; and he pictured to himself the slaves rising at his call, and massacring their masters wholesale, while he himself led them to the slaughter and gloried in it. The slaves, he imagined, were ready to spring up like tigers at the signal, and he would be at the head of a million fighters who, should the United States government side with the South against them, would fight the government too, and conquer them, with the aid of the white abolitionists who

is not difficult to surmise that all the resources of the mighty States might have been insufficient to put it down. Fanatics—monomaniacs—men who will literally die rather than yield—are more formidable than many times their number of ordinary brave soldiers, no matter how well disciplined and armed. Ordinary human courage has its well-defined limits; and after ten men have been killed out of a hundred, the ninety will generally retreat; if twenty have been killed, the retreat becomes a flight. But what should be done with a hundred men who would fight till ninety of them were slain, and then still fight till not one was left alive? With a million men of this stamp, it was not unreasonable to believe that Brown might have conquered any army or armies in the world; and were he to lose half his million, or nine-tenths of it, or all of it, that would make no difference to him; he would have put an end to slavery.

The error Brown made, then, was not in theory, wild and almost incredible though that was, but in the belief that his army, if he could raise it, would resemble him. There happened not to be a million John Browns available in the United States; indeed, so far as we know, there never was or would be but one. But even that one was enough to shake the whole nation to its center; and had he not lived and died, it is possible that slaves would still be slaves to-day. In this world, no power equal to the one man power has yet been found.

Brown was a practical man in ordinary respects, and he could reason out the details of his plan logically. The slaves must have arms. It would not be possible to arm them all

the village, which Brown rented, ostensibly for farming purposes; but little work was done upon it; only his farm wagon made frequent visits to the railway station, and returned loaded with heavy cases, which might have contained books, or farming tools, but which really were full of rifles. With the aid of these rifles, in the hands of himself, his sons, and a few more, he meant to capture the arsenal; and the rest would be easy. Messengers should go forth to notify the slaves of the rendezvous; as fast as they came in they would receive the weapons: and then woe to the slaveholders! It was such a vision as might have risen before the mind of an opium eater, or perhaps of a dime novelist; but only John Brown would have attempted actually to take it out of the region of insane notions, and clothe it with flesh and blood.

Brown's recruits came in slowly; and by the time a dozen or more had arrived, the old man felt that he must strike. With his sons, his army numbered eighteen all told. But that, in one sense, was already more than enough; for the neighbors, though Brown had avoided all association with them as much as possible—and he was not a man easy to approach at any time—were beginning to show curiosity as to why eighteen farmers who never did any farming were living in a small cottage out there in the wilds of the hills. They must show what they were there for before they were asked, or it would be too late.

Therefore, on the evening of Sunday, October 16, 1859, John Brown took his gun and ordered his men to fall in. Down to the village by the river they tramped, the eighteen men who were to put an end to slavery. On the way they met a negro, one of the race they were going to save; and Brown bade him fall in, and enjoy the distinction of being the first recruit of his color in the emancipating army. The negro was no doubt a fool: but he may have had brains

away. But here he showed his folly; he had not calculated on John Brown. The negro was a slave, and Brown was ready to die for him; but meanwhile he shot him down to prevent him from hindering his emancipation. It was the first blood shed in this war; and it indicated that Brown was determined to rescue the victims of slavery even if, in order to do it, he was obliged to kill not only their tyrants, but themselves. He was what the English would call "thorough."

Sunday evening villagers, who have never seen a shot fired in anger, are not likely to put up much of a fight on so brief warning; and Brown and his army succeeded in getting into the arsenal without loss, except of the one recusant recruit above-mentioned, who was free, indeed, however abruptly. He was the only slave whom Brown succeeded in freeing with his own hands.

But the first step in the great campaign was a success; and Brown fortified himself in his narrow quarters, and was ready for a siege; meanwhile he posted guards on the railway bridge, and, not to be unprovided with all supplies which an army should have, he captured a couple of prisoners. When the train came along, he stopped it; but presently allowed it to continue on its way to the North, possibly imagining that it would come back filled with armed abolitionists. No other evidence is needed to prove that he had no conception whatever of the position he occupied in the eyes of the entire law-abiding population of the United States. The North was just as anxious to put a stop to him as the South was; even Wendell Phillips and Lloyd Garrison did not start for Harper's Ferry. The inhabitants of that village, in addition to keeping up a desultory firing on the arsenal, had dispatched telegrams up and down the line,

hundred thousand desperate revolutionists they would have to encounter. The mayor of Harper's Ferry, and a few other citizens, had been killed or wounded by the fire from the arsenal before the soldiers arrived. It was not until after dark that night that a soldier who had seen war, Colonel Robert E. Lee, with a detachment of marines, appeared on the scene, and upon learning that the entire revolution, so far as was yet known, was cooped up in that little arsenal, felt like the leader of a fire-brigade which rushes to extinguish the conflagration of a city, and finds only a burning match-box. Artillery was not needed, he thought, to reduce this fortification; a scaling ladder applied as a battering-ram would suffice. It was desirable to take this army prisoners; and besides, there were citizens of Harper's Ferry inside there, whose lives must not be endangered. So the marines, under his directions, advanced with the heavy ladder, and pounded in the door; and there knelt John Brown, a ghastly spectacle, with six or seven wounds on his body, two of his sons dead on the floor beside him, and eight other men beside them. The war of emancipation was at an end; now were to follow the consequences.

Brown and the other prisoners were jailed, and they were tried and hanged with inspiring promptness. One can imagine what a red-handed ogre of iniquity Brown must have appeared to the South. But in fact, the letting of blood, and the refusal of a single slave to join his banner, had cleared the brain of the old man, and he realized his mistake. Possibly, too, he realized that his defeat and death would win for his cause more than he himself could have hoped to gain. He did not assume the airs of a martyr: sensa-

loved the negroes with the strange, impersonal love of the fanatic; and the little negro pickaninny that he kissed on his way to the scaffold was to him a symbol of the race—no more. He maintained his rude dignity and stoic courage to the end; and the authorities, as they choked the life out of him, doubtless wished, like Othello, that the wretch had twenty thousand lives: one was too poor, too weak for their revenge. But it turned out, later, that the execution of a single John Brown was quite as much as this nation could afford. His body mouldered in its grave, but his soul, militant still, marched from battlefield to battlefield, and witnessed the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of human lives, poured out to defend or to defeat the cause for the sake of which he had put his head in the halter. The excuse of the Civil War was indeed secession; but its reason was slavery. And after all had been said as to Brown's insanity, and folly, and treason, and unconstitutionality, and bloodthirstiness, and wickedness, our people saw only the figure of a man who had laid down his life for an idea, and a noble and unselfish one. It was a revelation, for it was not a tendency, nor a purpose, but an accomplished fact. A man had been found, not to talk about this thing, but to actually do it. And he was not a pale priest or a metaphysical ascetic, but a plain ordinary American such as you may meet in the village grocery on Saturday afternoons. He had done and suffered terrible things, but so may any plain American with strong thoughts in his mind and little education; and with a heart that could be both fierce and tender. The North understood him, felt with him, pitied him and gloried in him; and his name and story were better known to this nation than those of any other man of that age. There was nothing factitious in the feeling he aroused; it grew slowly, but it gathered strength quickly; and the final verdict of

sode, for it seemed incredible that Brown had not been the cat's-paw of some gigantic conspiracy in the North, which would be revealed later. But when investigation showed that he had been utterly alone in his enterprise, he was called a murderous madman, and everybody felt relieved; but all the same, measures were taken by the South to get in a defensive position. If one such madman could come from the North, there might be others. In Congress, defiances were exchanged between Democrats and Republicans. There were a good many outspoken remarks on slavery, pro and con, which would not have been uttered before John Brown died. The North, of course, would not in any way justify his deed; but it felt less inclined than before to maintain a conciliating attitude toward the South. Brown had not been conciliating: why should they?

In June of this year, Buchanan vetoed the Homestead bill, on the ground that Congress had no power to give away the public domain; but the true reason was lest the lands should pass into the hands of free labor; for Southerners were not able to take advantage of such a law for themselves. Soon after Covode of Pennsylvania carried a motion to investigate the acts of the administration; and in spite of the President's protests, the inquisitors unearthed a large mass of testimony indicative of corruption, favoritism, bribery, violence and treachery; for, indeed, it was notorious that every kind of political iniquity had flourished under his rule. The committee made no attempt to impeach Buchanan; they were satisfied to let the matter rest with the exposure; and Buchanan could only say that if

try with Mexico, with a view to further annexation; and there were rich jobs afoot in relation to transit routes across the Isthmus; but no change of policy could be effected. The country was becoming too much absorbed in its own affairs to take interest in anything else.

The Democratic Convention met at Charleston in the spring of 1860. The platform committee reported that Congress and territorial legislatures had no right to prevent the holding of slaves in any territory; the Douglas men could not accept this except on condition that the Supreme Court first pass upon it; the Convention adopted the Douglas side of the argument, and the other delegates thereupon withdrew. They met in a convention of their own, and nominated Breckinridge for President. Douglas was nominated by the others a month later, with Fitzpatrick of Alabama for Vice-President. In Baltimore assembled a sort of respectable coalition convention, which named Bell and Everett for their candidates, on the platform of "no political principle other than the Constitution of the country, the Union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws." The Republican Convention met in Chicago, which thus first takes its place in national political history; it already had the indomitable spirit of which we see some of the results to-day. There was danger of the Republicans, in their search for a candidate, going astray among the cranks and hypocrites of whom their ranks afforded many specimens; but Seward, Chase and Lincoln were finally brought to the front as the best men from whom to select a winner. Seward's long and clear record of ability and service entitled him to first consideration; but along with many friends he had made many enemies, not all of them outside of his own party; and it was necessary to pick a man who would win. Abraham



ing his way. Chase was also strong, but was thought not to have so good a chance. Other candidates were Bates and Cameron.

The hall in which this Convention met had been made for them, and was gayly decorated; there was space for an enormous audience in addition to the Convention members themselves; and the most lively interest was shown. Seward led in the first ballot; but Lincoln, greeted with a great shouting, was second. The next ballot gave Lincoln all Cameron's votes, and brought him within three of Seward, amid great excitement; then Ohio and Massachusetts fell into line, and gave him a majority; still other states followed these, until, with a whirlwind of commotion, and the thundering of cannon, Lincoln was made the Republican nominee by 354 votes out of 466. The result was undoubtedly a popular one; but of course no one knew of what vital importance it really was. The election was not to be the triumph of orators or famous names, but of fundamental principles; and as a matter of fact it was to the exposition of these that the candidates devoted themselves. Morality was the watchword of the Republicans; they had tried the effect of compromising with wrong, and had been defeated. Concession was the cry of the Democrats, whose split put them at a disadvantage. All except Breckinridge were for the Constitution; and he was also, with the proviso that the equality of states be maintained. Lincoln, who kept quiet and made a good impression on all who saw him, gained strength and influence daily; Seward generously took the stump for him, and Cameron brought Pennsylvania to his support. Carl Schurz, who had lately become a citizen.

what recalled that of "Tippecanoe"; there were vast meetings and torchlight processions and emblematic standards; and Lincoln having once earned a living splitting rails, rails were prominent among the insignia; and the shout of thousands of lusty lungs in unison—"Abraham—Lincoln—Rail—SplittAR!"—will never be forgotten by those who heard it. He was a John Brown with all Brown's virtues and none of his faults; a man of the people, a great man, and a good man. And he was indefinitely more than John Brown could ever have been; the depth of his mind, the breadth of his sympathies, have never been sounded or measured. His humor was a national treasure, and all the simple and manly facts of his early life, as they became known, endeared him more and more to his countrymen. His stature has only within these last few years been appreciated by the generality; but wherever an American goes in this world, he will find no better passport to take with him than that of being Lincoln's fellow-countryman. The love and reverence with which his name is regarded in many out-of-the-way corners of the old world would be hardly credited by those who have not witnessed it. Goodness, and faithful labor for others, go far, and the memory of them dieth not.

Buchanan gave his support to Breckinridge, though he announced that Democrats might take their choice of either him or Douglas, no regular nomination having been made. Douglas, though he was left to fight for his own hand, was the more formidable candidate of the two. He took the stump in his own behalf, and no man could have done it more effectively. Breckinridge was the disunion candidate, though he would not admit it; and the force of sentiment behind him was as strong at least as that behind Lincoln; but it lacked numbers. The South were fighting for their

not only would they be discredited before the world, but they would be obliged to set up housekeeping by themselves thereafter. If some of them anticipated war, they fancied it would be short—a mere matter of form. But the prevalent idea was that the secession would be accomplished peaceably, as Calhoun had dreamed long ago.

The October elections favored the Republicans, and showed which way the popular verdict would fall. The polls for the Presidential election closed just after sunset on the 6th of November, and by midnight it was known that Lincoln was President of the United States. Breckinridge got the vote of eleven out of the fifteen slave states; Douglas did better with the popular than with the electoral votes; Bell carried Virginia, Tennessee and Kentucky. There was to be no more slave domination in the Union. Even the prospects of expanding in other directions than northward were dispelled. It seemed to the South that they had stood by the Constitution, while the North had played fast and loose with it in order to win. But the result at the polls was undeniable; there was no question of fraud; and it was the duty of the South to accept the result. Instead of that, the threats of secession began to be heard immediately; and South Carolina took the lead. A convention was summoned on the 17th of December, two weeks after the meeting of Congress, and on the 20th passed an ordinance of secession. Among their grievances they named abolitionism at the North, abuse of slavery as sinful, the passage of the acts to prevent the recapture of fugitive slaves, and Lincoln's declaration that the house divided against itself could not stand. The North, they affirmed, taxed the South for its own benefit. But if the slaveholding states would stand

Three commissioners were now sent to Washington to arrange for the division of public property in South Carolina, and for the surrender of the Charleston forts. All the Southern States, of course, had within their boundaries a great deal of government property, paid for by Northern as well as Southern taxpayers, and to this property they had no more right than they had to the Tower of London or the Porcelain Pagoda in China. At this time there were in Charleston Harbor three forts—Castle Pinckney, Fort Moultrie and Fort Sumter; Moultrie was occupied by a garrison of sixty men—more than ten times too small for it; Sumter was not in fighting order; but it was more defensible, being on an island in the center of the harbor, and to it Major Anderson moved his men on the night of the 26th of December, after the adjournment of the Convention and the announcement of secession. Anderson was a faithful officer, and saw that it might be necessary to stand on his defense. The next morning there was great to-do in Charleston; and acting upon the principle that might makes right, the local authorities baldly appropriated Pinckney and Moultrie and hoisted over them the Palmetto flag of the state. Anderson had taken the precaution to spike Moultrie's guns before leaving; but the arsenal was taken a few days later, with half a million dollars' worth of national arms in it. This picking of the national pocket by the seceding states was an awkward accompaniment of secession; but there seemed no way of avoiding it. It would have been more dignified had it been preceded by a definite act of war. It is amusing to note that, with the breathless American haste to be up with the events which they themselves were creating, the South Carolinian newspapers headed their dispatches from the Northern states "Foreign News." The three commission-

live to hold the reins. They ordered Buchanan—for the tone they took was that of masters rather than of ambassadors—much less of traitors who merited hanging—to move Anderson out of Fort Sumter at once, otherwise their outraged country would put him out by force of arms (stolen from the United States for that purpose). Buchanan deserves no sympathy for this insult; for he had unfaithfully refused to adopt Winfield Scott's advice, given long before, to put these forts in a proper posture of defense, in view of precisely the contingency which had now happened. All he could do now was to submit the correspondence to Congress. His Cabinet was by this time dissolving; he accepted Howell Cobb's resignation as Secretary of the Treasury, though it was known that his conduct of the office had been grossly imprudent if not much worse; the molluscous Cass next left him; and Floyd, Secretary of War, who had taken advantage of his position to prevent the re-enforcement of Southern forts, followed. The president took it all very meekly. The country gained by his appointment of an unknown lawyer of Ohio, Edwin M. Stanton, as Attorney-general. Stanton was destined to see Secession out as War Secretary under Lincoln; and proved himself to be the right man in the right place. An order to send the cruiser "Brooklyn" with re-enforcements to Anderson was delayed; and finally the "Star of the West," with two hundred and fifty men, but no armament, was dispatched; upon her arrival at the harbor, she was fired on by the Charleston batteries, January 9th, 1861, and she immediately put about and returned. Two other members of the Cabinet, Thomas and Thompson, both disloyal, and dishonest into the bargain, now resigned; and again the nation profited; for John A.

agreed upon, according to which the forts were to remain without re-enforcements, and were not to be captured by the South.

Meanwhile delegates from six seceding states met at Montgomery, Alabama, and made a constitution for the provisional government of the Confederate States of America. It made slavery its *piece de resistance*; and matters relating to public property and debts were to be adjusted between them and the United States on just and equitable terms. The proposal was for peaceable secession. Jefferson Davis was elected President of this new Confederacy, though no appeal had been made to the people, even in choosing the delegates that elected him. The government was an oligarchy. Alexander Stephens was made Vice-President; his views were more conservative and moderate than those of the others, and he was willing to accommodate the quarrel even yet, if the North would repeal its "personal liberty" bills, preventing return of fugitive slaves. He was of opinion that the best men at the North would always be ready to agree with the South as to national measures; and remarked, not without truth, that "the South has controlled the government in its every important action from the beginning." Nor did he consider that Lincoln's election was fair cause for secession. Lincoln wrote to him under date of December 22, 1860, that the Republican administration would not interfere with slaves; but that the point of divergence was that "you think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong, and ought to be abolished." Stephens's response to this was that the pride of the South was touched at being made the object of moral diatribes. This seems childish, but after all, it is pride of this kind that influences men and nations more strongly than almost any other cause,

its cost; since without it a nation is neither respected nor respects itself.

At the same time that the Confederacy between the six states (South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi) was formed, a peace convention met in Washington, at the instance of Virginia. The scheme was got up by John Tyler, the ex-president, and the meeting contained representatives of twenty states, North and South, the North being in the majority. It seems probable that Tyler had treasonable designs in this affair; he asked for a truce while it was deliberating, and thus kept the North from making needful preparations; and when the sittings had issued in no result, he returned to Richmond and declared that the Union could not be saved and that the sooner Virginia joined the seceding states the better.

Lincoln left his home on February 11th and traveling by Pittsburgh, Buffalo and New York, reached Washington on the 23d, having journeyed from Philadelphia incognito, guarded by the detective Allan Pinkerton; for it was believed that a plot was afoot in Baltimore to kidnap or kill him while crossing the city.

At the Capital there was great anxiety and uncertainty as to what would happen. Absurd propositions were advanced from various quarters to ward off the danger, or at least to retain the wavering border states in the Union. Lincoln took Seward and Chase into his Cabinet at once, indicating that his policy would not be one of compromise. Seward had made a conciliating speech some six weeks before, in which he urged fidelity to the Union, but added, it could not be saved by compromises; he warned the South that secession would involve civil war; and he opposed the

further parley. The Southern members withdrew from the Capitol; the bill admitting Kansas as a free state was passed, and received the President's signature; Colorado, Nevada and Dakota were made new free territories. Nothing now remained but for the orderly lapse of events to get rid of the pusillanimous and half-treasonable Buchanan, and to bring in the new leader on whom the hopes of the nation were fixed. The politicians were slower to believe that war was inevitable than were the mass of the people, who trust more to intuitions. The conflict was truly irrepressible. Upon the whole, it was as fair a quarrel as was ever fought. Both sides firmly believed they were in the right; and neither doubted of victory. The South was used to war, and was warlike; the North were peaceful traders, and had forgotten the art of the sword and musket which their forefathers knew. They had forgotten; but now they began to remember; voices seemed to call to them from the past, bidding them do honor to their ancestry. The anger of the North rose slowly, but it rose at last, and it burned with an increasing flame until the end. The South had the splendid courage of the cavaliers who fought for Charles; and the desperate earnestness of men who defend their homes and their political existence. And both South and North were Americans.



## CHAPTER THIRTY-THIRD

### *BULL RUN*

**I**N RESPECT of numbers engaged and losses suffered, the war which was now about to begin was the greatest ever fought. It also seemed to be the most deplorable; for it was a war of like against like: of brothers against one another. After nearly two and a half centuries, the sons of the pioneers who had settled Virginia and Massachusetts, and of those who followed them, were marshaled against each other, with deadly enmity in their hearts. From a few score—a few hundreds—they had increased to full thirty million of as enlightened and enterprising a people as were in the world; and they were about to plunge into the hideous work of mutual destruction. Together they had resisted Europe, and their blood had mingled on a hundred battlefields, where freedom was the stake; they had together built up a great civilization, and had presented to the world the spectacle of a vast democracy living in freedom, with no ruler but themselves; they had upset the predictions of failure which the wisest of the old nations had made; and the populace of the old monarchies and despotisms had heard of their liberty, and millions of them had crossed the ocean to share it. Already America was the hope of mankind. And yet, at the height of their seeming success, they had quarreled with themselves—these sons of the new day—and were gathering their mighty energies to annihilate the work which their great fathers had made. It

was a grievous sight to see, and an ominous failure to confess; for if America failed, there was no rational hope that the cause of civil and religious freedom could ever succeed. Never again could the experiment be tried under conditions so favorable; and even could another continent be found, and another people with the spirit of the Puritans and Pilgrims to colonize it, the precedent of the American collapse would discourage and handicap them. We had believed that God led us to the Wilderness, and had protected us there. But if, after all, we were to go down in ruin, undermined by our own hands, would it not be a sign that God had no part in our attempt? Except the Lord build the city, they labor in vain who build it. It had all been a vast mistake and delusion from the beginning. Let us call back our kings and czars, and surrender our liberty and equality. Man is not able to govern himself. Let Moses lead the Israelites back to Pharaoh, and cast the tablets of the Divine Law into the depths of the Red Sea. The Pillar of Cloud by day, of Fire by night, was but a mirage and a mockery; and a few selfish tyrants shall have dominion over many helpless slaves.

But the conflict was irrepressible. During forty years every means of composing it had been tried, and had miscarried. The Frankenstein monster of slavery which had been forced by alien and then by geographical agency upon the South, was a growing monster, and must be fed and given room to stretch his shackled but formidable limbs. Above all must he be left undisturbed where he was, or his sinister force, which now was given to giving his masters wealth, would be turned against their throats. The Southern slaveholder could never feel fully safe. Those black figures bending and toiling in his fields were obedient only to force, and the force was absurdly inadequate—it was the mere intellectual domination of a superior race. But should a Toussaint arise to tell them of their strength, and lead them to put it forth, what would become of the planter?

What had become of the French in San Domingo? Or, failing a leader of their own color, should another John Brown, or an army of them, appear—as from indications at the North might well happen—the days of the South would be numbered. Their only security, then, lay either in spreading the slave system over the entire Union, so that all alike should be concerned to maintain it: or in retiring from the Union, so that the peril of the Abolitionists might be removed. “Peaceably if we may—forcibly if we must!” said the South, taking the words from the mouth of Josiah Quincy of Massachusetts sixty years before. New England had no right to protest; she herself had knotted the lash which was now laid across her shoulders. The Boston Federalists had sown the wind, and the whirlwind was now to be reaped. The pretext was different, but the argument was the same.

But the North could not yield, in spite of the *tu-quoque* taunt, and in spite of pusillanimous mutterings from a faint-hearted minority, of whom Buchanan was the type:—the Copperheads, as they came to be called. They were willing to let the slaves stay where they were, and promise never to meddle with them; but they could not corrupt free labor by suffering slave labor to compete with it on its own soil; nor could they allow the Southern minority to pre-empt the untrodden regions which yet lay to the north and west. Well, the South would agree, so far; but what objection had the North to letting her peaceably secede? Let the land of staple-producers separate from the land of traders and manufacturers. There was no real union of interests between them; why should a forced political union be maintained?

tution seemed to admit it, for though the doctrine of state rights was denied by the North, it was supported by powerful reasoners, and might at least be considered open to argument. And was it not more politic to be separated from a friendly community than to tie an unwilling one to one's self? Moreover, so long as South and North made one country, there would always be danger of contamination from slavery either covert or overt; but if they were politically foreign to each other, no such contingency would exist. Why, then, not let the South go? Independent of us, she could do us as much good as before, and would do us much less harm.

There was a good deal of talk of this kind at the North during the first months of 1861, and it sounded plausible and prudent. Yet the weight of feeling in the North was against it. Against policy, against profit and utility, the decision was that the South must be compelled to remain in the Union. Was this the result of a determination to back one interpretation of the Constitution against another? Was it sullen pride, or obstinacy, or stupidity? Was it fear that a severance of the bonds of Union would weaken us to the attacks of Europe? Was it apprehension that if the principle of secession were once recognized, the practice would spread, until the great American Republic became a cluster of helpless and snarling principalities, such as already vexed the tropical regions of the continent?

Considerations such as these may have entered into the thoughts of the North upon the subject; but they were not the controlling ones. The answer given was usually in the words, "The Union must be preserved." Literally, this would imply only a reluctance to relinquish a material bond; but there is no doubt that it was the expression of a

unseen influence transmitted from father to son, becoming incorporate with our growth, an organic part of us, not to be rooted out. The United States was one, and one it should forever remain. Our ancestors had not suffered from hunger and Indians, from royal oppression, from insolent war, to have the work of their blood and brains and hearts destroyed by the shallow and infidel impatience of a hot-headed and arrogant minority. These planters were not the nation, for they were willing to destroy the nation; their attitude was not buttressed by the august and deep-laid foundations of history, for they cast history aside, and acted from the selfish and immediate impulse of personal comfort and prosperity. What was the true motive that actuated them?—the maintenance of slavery! For the sake of this sin—for sin it was, no matter what expediency might say—they would destroy the edifice of ages, in which were involved the purest hopes of mankind. It should not be permitted. The higher law forbade it. We had a trust to guard, and we would guard it. War was a terrible evil, and we had put it aside as long as we could—until concession could no further go—until honor and submission were no longer compatible. Now, therefore, let war come, if it must; and let us rather die to uphold a truth than live to profit by a sin. Such were the inner sentiments contained in the words, "The Union must be preserved!" and they constituted an irresistible power. The North, indeed, had physical resources not possessed by the South; but these could not have been called forth, nor kept in action, had not a profound spiritual conviction of right and duty animated them as soul animates body. By no lesser force could the local patriotism and fiery ardor of the South have been overcome. The South fought for their homes, and for slavery; the North fought

and the punishment which the war inflicted upon her was not undeserved. She came out of it purified and strengthened, and having learned a lesson of the fruit of tampering with evil which could never be quite forgotten; but a full generation must pass away, and deep wounds be healed, before South and North could forgive each other, and enter with sincerity into new bonds of brotherhood.

Though the ultimate strength of the South was less than her opponent's, her immediate resources were greater, so far as material and preparation went. Floyd, while drawing his salary as a sworn officer of the government, had been busily engaged in crippling in all ways the national power; he had dispersed the army in places where the Union could least avail itself of its services; he had sent arms and ammunition where the South could get hold of them, and had left the forts which guarded the coast below Norfolk without garrisons or supplies; and he had done this with Buchanan's connivance, and in defiance of the repeated protests and advice of Scott. Washington, Baltimore, and places yet further north, were full of disloyalty; and movements made toward suppressing the rebellion were immediately telegraphed to southern points. So long as Buchanan remained in office, the South would not be interfered with; and she used the opportunity to hasten her arrangements, while the North was obliged to look on without being able to lift her hand.

Yet the North was not wholly idle; the people were deeply interested in the progress of affairs, and every Northern town had its company drilling every evening on the common; old guns and old uniforms were routed out of

looked on gravely, and often shook their heads as they turned away. After Lincoln had taken his oath as President, and his early orders had proved that he was not going to accept the Southern acts supinely, the excitement rose, and the clash of opinions became sharper between those who still wished to temporize, and those who desired to go right ahead and fight, leaving talk till after the fighting was done. Then were repeated the painful scenes which had been enacted more than fourscore years before, when American Tories and patriots had taken sides against one another; men hitherto of weight and repute in the local community suddenly found themselves looked at askance, or ostracized, because they expressed opinions which were out of accord with the general feeling. There was a great deal of intolerance, and hard names were bandied about; as for argument, there was little, but only plentiful contradicting one of another. Feeling had taken the place of argument, and all breath expended in arguing was breath wasted. North and South were going to fight; and nothing was now worth talking about except how to get to fighting as quickly and as effectively as possible.

At ten minutes before five o'clock on the morning of April 13, 1861, a mortar in Charleston Harbor discharged a shell, which burst in the air above Fort Sumter, arousing Major Robert Anderson and his threescore men to realization of the fact that war between North and South had actually begun, and that the South had fired the first shot. It hurt nobody, nor did any of the many hundreds which were discharged on both sides during the remainder of the day and night, and on the following morning; Major Anderson keeping his garrison behind the bomb-proofs, and letting the guns on the parapet, which were the biggest in the fort, be

rous" to one another, and seemed desirous to convey the idea that though they were fighting, their mutual regard for one another was in no way impaired. But this sort of flummery presently wore thin and disappeared; and we came to think no more of sacrificing a thousand men to capture a battery, than we did of the solitary unfortunate who was killed in Sumter, not in the battle, but by the accidental discharge of a gun fired in salute after the surrender. It is not that armies become more bloodthirsty as their experience ripens; but they learn to regard killing as a mere business, to be pursued, like any other, on business principles.

When Sumter had been pounded from the shore batteries in the harbor for a day and a half, its fire slackened, and a certain hasty General Wigfall unexpectedly appeared upon the esplanade outside its gates, demanding to see Anderson at once to arrange terms of surrender. After some parley he was admitted, for indeed he was in acute peril of being killed by the bombardment of his own side if he were not; and he offered Anderson the honors of war and permission to go home if he would give up. Anderson was a brave and faithful officer enough, and lived to raise again over Sumter the flag he now pulled down; but he was a Kentuckian and a slaveholder, and he had not yet got accustomed to the idea of fighting his kindred; and he knew, besides, that the fort could not hold out much longer, and could not inflict any loss upon the enemy if it did. So he accepted Wigfall's terms, and hoisted the white flag; and only discovered afterward that Wigfall had been acting entirely on his private responsibility, and that the terms he had accepted were liable to be disallowed. However, at that stage of the war, such



What would that long-legged, humorous, peaceable-looking Illinois President say or do?—The waiting was not long. The proclamation calling for seventy-five thousand volunteers appeared on Monday morning, April 15th. The response was almost as quick as the call. Massachusetts was in the lead; her Sixth Regiment passed through Baltimore on the 19th of April—a day remembered in Massachusetts, and now to be signalized again. For Baltimore was full of secession, which was only kept from declaring itself as in the other Southern cities by the fact that Baltimore lay, geographically, between two fires, Philadelphia being loyal, and Washington at least partially so. But when the mob in Baltimore saw Northern troops passing through their city on the avowed errand of killing their fellows in the field, their wrath overcame all considerations of prudence, and they first cursed and then attacked them. One of the cars in which they were crossing the town broke down, and the soldiers began to suffer from the missiles and revolver-practice which made them their target. One does not like to hear of troops firing upon citizens in the streets of their own city, and Massachusetts men had not forgotten the Boston Massacre. But these Northern soldiers were certainly not looking for trouble in Baltimore; they had expected no such reception, and were merely doing what had to be done—pass through that fiery city on their way to Washington. Accordingly, not they but the citizens are to be blamed for the fusillade with which they finally replied to the attack upon them. Several of the soldiers were killed, and their bodies left upon the streets; more were wounded; it cannot be known what casualties happened to the Baltimore men. But the first blood of the war, on both sides, may be said to have been spilled here; and the increase of mutual animosity which it caused was extraordinary. The best cam-

land, my Maryland," to avenge the patriotic gore which had flecked the streets of Baltimore on this occasion. Maryland did not respond to the poet's summons; and, on the other hand, the North, failing to produce as good a song for her side, unblushingly purloined Mr. James Ryder Randall's production, which, with the change of a few words, was found to serve just as well to fire the Northern as the Southern heart. And yet, after all, the "John Brown's body" hymn, as thundered forth by the marching myriads of the North, was a better campaign document than its graceful and spirited rival.

During the ensuing weeks there were many tender partings of sons from parents and sweethearts; though the terms of enlistment were commonly short, and it was still believed on both sides that the war would be a matter of not more than "a hundred days" or so. If either party had foreseen four or five years of continuous and terrific fighting, between armies aggregating two million men, and with losses altogether of near seven hundred thousand, the emotions of those partings would have been more poignant still. But in these first weeks there was displayed a kind of sentiment which could only belong to the early stages of the war. There had as yet been no gaps made in the family circles of the nation; there were no wrongs to avenge, no sufferings to requite; the harsher aspect of the struggle had not yet come. There was only the exaltation of fighting for one's country, the pathos of saying good-by, the hope of glory, the glow of facing untried dangers. The boys left their classes in Harvard and Yale, the farmers, mechanics and artisans left their work, the clerks laid down their bargains on the counter, the merchant raised a company or a regiment and

into camp green, ignorant, loose, awkward; the men were independent and free-and-easy; the officers, men of education and refinement, unused to the exigencies of military discipline, asked their rank and file (with many of whom perhaps they had been acquainted in the walks of peace) to "please step this way"; "kindly present arms," and so on. But such softness wore off before long; and when the first three-months-men came back to their native villages, they were hardly recognizable for the gawky citizens who had gone forth so lately; their figures were wiry and erect, their lean faces were tanned by the summer suns of Virginia, they walked in pairs or threes with the long, springy, measured step of war; they were now disciplined soldiers, who had shot and been shot at, had faced death, had obeyed orders, had made a part of battles. The difference was wonderful, and it never wore away. The familiar village was not the same village any more. Many who marched forth returned no more forever; those who came back were changed; there were empty places in almost every household, as the years went by; and the family group round the hearth, if it were still full, never looked the same as before; there was another spirit, another feeling in it. And everywhere you saw the badge of mourning; women, old and young, in black gowns, with crape veils; it was a sight so common that one ceased to notice it. And the talk was all of campaigns, battles, generals, captains, regiments, charges, retreats, victories, defeats. The war-correspondents of that day were few, but the newspapers were absorbing reading nevertheless; and they had news to tell. There were the black headlines; the columns of terse narrative; the list of dead and wounded—but these soon had to be given up, save for the names of leading officers; what should a newspaper do with the losses of forty and fifty thousand which some of the great battles brought?

far more trying; for the charge was made in hot blood and fierce excitement, with glory to win and only one's own death to face; but the lists were read at home; cold and trembling fingers held the paper; the eyes were painfully strained, the lips were parted, the cheeks pale; and the heart stood still or leaped by turns. There was no excitement to sustain the wife or mother; no glory to gain; and the death, if it came, came not to her, but to him she loved best. No adequate history could ever be written of the women of the Civil War; but it is strange indeed that no great sculptor or architect has been commissioned to erect some mighty monument, to commemorate forever in enduring marble and bronze her heroism, her sacrifices, and her achievements.

The Union army must concentrate at Washington, and thence proceed to the defense of the line along the Potomac and the Ohio which marked the boundary between South and North. For the capture of Sumter had added to the Southern array the states of Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas and Tennessee. The western, mountainous part of Virginia was finally saved to the North, after several sharp battles had been fought there; Kentucky also remained loyal, Missouri too, and the new free state of Kansas. The Confederacy, therefore, was bounded on the north by the old Compromise line of 1820, and included Texas as its western frontier. The North held all the rest; but practically, the states involved in active war on the Northern side were less in area than those on the South. On the other hand, the North surpassed the South in wealth and population, and in means of sustaining a long conflict. The City of Washington, lying as it did on the borders of Virginia, was in danger

since it would be impossible within our limits to follow this war in detail, it seems advisable here at the outset to give an outline of the entire contest. The story of the strategy of modern battles, however edifying to the expert, goes in at one ear and out of the other of the unmilitary reader; the latter can appreciate the description of a charge, the heroism of a siege, the sublimity of a forlorn hope; but the details of maneuvers in the field are more than he can digest. To comprehend the general plan of a whole war is less difficult, and to the student of history far more important.

The South hoped for victory on two grounds: first, because the North had no practice in war—for the trifling operations by land of the war of 1812 were hardly worth considering, besides that all who took part in them were already gone to their reward; the only considerable battle had been at New Orleans, and in that the South had borne the chief share. The Mexican war, again, had been fought mainly by Southern troops; and the South had ever since been engaged, unofficially, in border raids and filibustering expeditions, which had kept her familiar with the idea of war, and ready to take part in any fighting that came her way. She felt, therefore, the same sense of superiority over the North that a boxer does over a man, bigger perhaps than he, but uninstructed in the art of self-defense.

In the second place, the South trusted that no long time would pass after the outbreak of hostilities before Europe would intervene in her favor. For she supplied Europe with cotton and tobacco, and the old world would not long submit to be deprived of these necessities, as must happen were the

South a hardihood which she might else have lacked, which plunged her into the war so deep that there was no getting out except by the surrender which was inevitable upon her complete exhaustion.

As for the North, she believed that she would conquer by dint of her superior strength, wealth and lasting powers; she was far from estimating at its true value the resistance and vigor of the South, or the depth of feeling which attached her to her cause. She thought her fickle and easily discouraged, and she doubted not that when a few months had proved to her the futility of struggling against a resolute and stern adversary, she would be glad to come back, a repentant prodigal. So large a miscalculation on the part of both South and North goes to show how little the two sections knew of each other; lack of common interests had bred ignorance. They were far better strangers now than they were when the struggles with England came to an end. But they were in a fair way to remedy this deficiency.

The area of the Confederacy, geographically regarded, divides into three parts, like Cæsar's Gaul; the dividing lines being the Mississippi River, and the Alleghany Mountains. Of these three, that west of the Mississippi, comprising Louisiana, Arkansas and Texas, may be left out of consideration, for it was not the object of Northern strategy and its population was relatively small. This we may call the "right region," looking at it from the north. The "left region" is that between the Alleghanies or Appalachian range and the Atlantic, comprising Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia—all sea-coast states, and able from their position

Mississippi, containing Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and the western extremities of some of the eastern states. This was where most of the grand maneuvering of the war took place; it was the heart of the Confederacy, and was attacked and defended as such.

The town of Memphis, on the Mississippi, and Charleston on the coast of South Carolina, were united by a line of railway; and at Chattanooga, at the east of Tennessee among the mountains, another road branched off in a northeast direction, and terminated in Richmond. Chattanooga, therefore, was a point of vital strategic importance; for this Memphis-Charleston-Richmond railroad was the only one connecting the west with the east of the Confederacy. If the North could seize and hold Chattanooga, the Confederacy would be cut in twain, to its serious detriment. Recognizing this, the North made the town the object of attack, and the South bent her energies to protecting it. This she did by defending a military line between one and two hundred miles to the north of the railway. One end of this line was at Columbus on the Mississippi, a little below the junction with it of the Ohio; the other or eastern end was at Bowling Green, in Warren County, Kentucky, some two hundred miles east of Columbus. This military line passed through Forts Henry and Donelson, midway on its route. A large river, the Tennessee, flows southward from the Ohio, until it reaches the Memphis-Charleston railway; it then turns to the east, following the railway line.

Now, Kentucky being a Northern state, the Union army, to attack the Columbus-Bowling Green line to the best advantage, would descend upon it by way of the Ohio, Mississippi and Tennessee rivers, capturing Forts Henry and Donelson; and after breaking the line, would march south-

Chattanooga, the other by way of the North via Richmond. This strategy should be the key of the whole war, to which everything else would be subsidiary. The Confederate forces in the east could be attacked in detail, and Richmond would fall of itself. As the South had no navy, the Atlantic coast and the Gulf could be blockaded, and with the Mississippi in Northern hands, she would inevitably be squeezed to death.—But it was some time before this general view of the situation was taken.

The first idea of the North was to capture Richmond: "On to Richmond," to the ordinary apprehension, seemed to be the cry that meant immediate victory. The attempt to reach Richmond, which would have been of minor value had it succeeded, was rendered impossible by the first great battle of the war, in which the two armies met at Bull Run in Virginia, with the result that the Northerners were stampeded, and thrown back in dire confusion upon Washington. The North was thereby admonished that this war was to be no hundred-days affair; and under McClellan as commander-in-chief an army of two hundred thousand men was carefully drilled during the fall and winter. By February they were ready to move, or at all events Stanton, the Secretary of War, thought they were, and General Grant performed the task of ascending the Tennessee River and capturing Forts Henry and Donelson. This exploit was accomplished on the 16th of February, 1862, and gave the North control of Kentucky and most of Tennessee, though the Mississippi was not yet clear. The South failed to recapture these points, being finally defeated in the attempt by the defeat at Murfreesboro on the last day of the year. But the war was still only at its beginning. The South suffered seriously this year from the blockade of her ports.



slaves in the seceded states would be declared free. Thus the second year of the war ended with no conclusive advantage on either side; but the South was straitened by the blockade and by Grant's successes, and had acted hitherto on the defensive.

The year 1863 gave the South several successes, though they were not so important as they appeared. General Lee, aided by storms, turned back Burnside in his attempt on Richmond, and almost annihilated Hooker's great army at Chancellorsville, in May. Galveston was retaken by the Confederates, while Banks failed at Port Hudson, Dupont in his naval attack on Charleston, and Southern cruisers did immense injury to Northern commerce. Lee, after destroying Hooker, advanced into Pennsylvania, and met Meade at Gettysburg. They fought for three days, the greatest battle of the war, and Lee was defeated and thrown back. The next day, July 4th, Grant received the surrender of Vicksburg, and the Mississippi, in the words of Lincoln, "ran unvexed to the sea."

After the surrender of Vicksburg, Grant won a battle at Chattanooga, which ended the conflict for that region; and in March of the year 1864 he was raised to the chief command of all the Union armies. Under his direction, the war was brought to a close with a series of masterly maneuvers worthy of the highest military genius. He left Sherman, whose worth he knew, to dispose of the Confederate force in Georgia; he devoted his own attention to the problem of overthrowing Lee in Virginia. Lee was his peer in the science of war, but the forces of which Grant was able to dispose were greater, and their steadiness was invincible. After a series of engagements lasting for more than a year, Grant at length planted the Stars and Stripes on the walls

Grant at Appomattox Court House on the 9th of April. Johnston surrendered to Sherman two weeks later, and the final capitulations had taken place by the end of May. Such were the leading features of the Civil War; and though the agony and exhaustion inflicted upon the South were severe, she bravely and honorably accepted the issue of the hazard she had tempted. She might have maintained a harassing guerrilla warfare indefinitely; but the South were a civilized, not a barbarous, people; they had done their best and their utmost; there was no disgrace in their defeat; and they manfully faced its consequences. The leaders, however, were unwilling to give the guarantees which the North required against any future renewal of the war; and the result was the passage, two years after the war closed, of the Reconstruction Act, which divided ten Southern states into five military districts with Union army officers in command. These states could not resume their regular place in the Union, until, in the words of the Act, a convention of delegates "elected by the male citizens of whatever race, color or previous condition" should frame a constitution, which being ratified by the people and approved by Congress, should go into operation; and the legislature thereupon elected should adopt the fourteenth amendment—which secured to freedmen the right of citizenship, declared the validity of the national debt, and regulated the basis of representation, and disqualification from office.

It is not surprising that some years passed before this ultimatum was accepted by all the states; the stumbling-block, of course, being the stipulation that the emancipated slaves should be entitled to vote. Indeed, the policy of this

either been kept from the polls, or their votes have been cast under white direction; and the relations of the white and black races in the Southern states are in many respects unsatisfactory. Yet if the negro in the South is neither to be a citizen nor a slave, his position is anomalous, and open to another class of objections.

We will now proceed to fill in the above outline with some details. Missouri and Kentucky, as has been said, did not join the Confederacy; but their attitude led to some interesting complications. In Kentucky, the governor and civil officers were mainly Southern sympathizers; but inasmuch as the people were fairly divided, it was determined that the state should remain neutral during the war, affording succor to neither side, and operating against neither. This singular stand, which might be regarded as secession in another form, was maintained for nearly a year. But at the first opportunity, the Union party in the state contrived to elect a loyal legislature; and when, in September, 1861, General Polk, of the Confederates, moved his army into Kentucky, resolutions were passed declaring his act to be a violation of neutrality, and Kentucky declared herself a Union state. This put an end to the strange spectacle of enlistments for South and North going on in the same towns; and it was a severe loss to the Confederacy.

In Missouri the course of events was different. Here the Southern sympathizers predominated; but the Union class, the majority of whom were Germans, were the more alert and energetic; and they had the benefit of being led by two men—Frank P. Blair and Captain Nathaniel Lyon—who possessed phenomenal strength and ability. Blair attended

coln's call for seventy-five thousand men was made, the state governor, Jackson, refused to supply men for an "unholy crusade" whose objects were "inhuman and diabolical"; though he did not scruple at the same time to raise and drill men with a view to their joining the Confederate army. Blair, on the other hand, raised a force of "Home Guards"; and these two forces were drilling at the same time under the flag of the United States. Neither party, however, had arms; and both plotted to seize the arsenal. Jackson secretly sent to the Confederate government for cannon, which were promised him; but Lyon, meanwhile, obtained the appointment of commander of the arsenal, and immediately issued arms to the Home Guards. A few days later he happened to be on the levee when the cases containing the cannon arrived, labeled "marble." Their appearance was suspicious, and following them up to their destination in Jackson's camp, he discovered the truth. The next day he led his men against the camp, in spite of the misgivings of many of his party, and captured it without a struggle. As he was marching back with his prisoners he was attacked by the mob, and fired at; his men returned the fire and killed or wounded twenty. He followed up this exploit by seizing St. Louis, the governor and state officials taking flight; and all further efforts to carry the state out of the Union ceased. Lyon was a veteran of the Mexican war, and a man of iron decision; and his service in saving Missouri at this early and important stage was of incalculable value.

The month following the surrender of Fort Sumter passed by with no shots fired, but in active preparation on both

river. Winfield Scott was in command at Washington, and there were upward of twelve thousand troops in Washington; but the old general hoped the "revolt" would presently subside, and was reluctant to invade Virginia while any hope of peace remained.

But when, on the 23d of May, it became known that General Lee was laying out works on Arlington Heights, commanding the city, Scott ordered his troops across the river. The advance was in three divisions, the third being led by Ellsworth's Zouaves, which seized the town of Alexandria, the population of which was secessionist. A secession flag was flying from the roof of the hotel. Taking one or two men with him, Ellsworth entered the hotel, intending to lower the flag; on the second landing he was confronted by a man with a shotgun loaded with buckshot, who fired at him at close range, not only sending the charge through his heart, but forcing with it Ellsworth's gold badge inscribed "Non nobis sed pro patria." Ellsworth fell dead; one of his companions shot his slayer through the head and bayoneted him. Ellsworth was one of the most conspicuous of the young leaders of the North; he was a magnificent athlete, and his Zouaves were all picked men. The incident made a deep impression on the country, and both Ellsworth and the man who had killed him were regarded as martyrs by the opposing sections. The Union outposts seized Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, and Arlington House, the residence of Robert E. Lee; the site of the latter is now a military cemetery, in which repose the bones of sixteen thousand Union soldiers.

Meanwhile Fortress Monroe, at the end of the peninsula formed by York and James Rivers, was occupied by Union troops under General Butler, but the Confederates threw up

Southern gentlemen that although property was to be respected, war material did not fall under that category; the negroes, having been employed in building fortifications were war material, and as such "contraband of war." Therefore they would not be returned. This bit of reasoning caught the popular fancy, and the Southern negro was a "contraband" in the common speech thenceforth. The government also accepted Butler's ruling as good in law, and in future all negroes who came within the Union line, were declared free. They were in the same category with sandbags and picks, blunderbusses and mortars.

The peninsula afforded a direct road to Richmond, and in order to clear it, Butler ordered an advance in two columns, from Hampton and Newport News, to surprise General Magruder at Great Bethel. Signals were devised by which the two columns should recognize each other when they formed their junction. But the officer commissioned to impart these signals to the Newport News column forgot to do so, and the consequence was that it was fired upon by that from Hampton. The mistake was soon discovered, but the firing had alarmed Magruder and put him on his guard, and the Union troops, weary with their night march, were repulsed from his works, losing fifty men, among them young Theodore Winthrop, a descendant of the famous Winthrops of Boston. For the second time in the short course of this war death had showed that he loved a shining mark.

The early actions of the war were little more than skirmishes, and showed only that the troops on both sides were brave, and that they were unfamiliar with the operations of war. The passes of the mountains of north and west Virginia were held by the Confederates, and as they afforded

fighting he captured his positions, and compelled his retreat; and Garnett, finding his rear thus exposed, followed him, pursued by McClellan. Pegram was killed, and Garnett surrendered; and West Virginia was thenceforward free from Confederate armies. But the fear which McClellan had expressed, in his address to his troops, that they "would not find foemen worthy of their steel," was premature. McClellan was destined to hold another opinion of Southern soldiers before long.

The evil of short terms of enlistment was now once more exemplified in our experience. Most of the seventy-five thousand men called out by Lincoln had enlisted for three months, and their term was nearly up, yet nothing had been done. Nothing, that is, that the people could recognize; for it seems to the uninstructed observer that troops drilling in camp are idle. The general officers were of course aware that drill is an indispensable preliminary to effective work in the field; and to the cry of "On to Richmond" they replied that they could not lead an undisciplined army on such an enterprise with any reasonable chance of success. But the clamor did not cease; and Lincoln and Scott were at length obliged to attempt something. And there was an operation which it seemed not too rash to undertake.

The railroad from Richmond and that from the Shenandoah Valley to the west, met at Manassas Junction in Virginia, five-and-thirty miles south of the Potomac. It was the key to the railway system of the state, and was held by the Confederates under General Beauregard, with an advance line along the brook known as Bull Run. The Confederates at this point numbered twenty-five thousand; but in the Shenandoah Valley was Johnston, with ten thousand more. He, however, was confronted at Harper's Ferry by

the war material and supplies, and Confederate spies kept the Southern generals apprised of what was doing. Of this information they made excellent use.

Patterson was a soldier of 1812, and not proficient in the later developments of warlike science; but he had for some time been urging Scott to let him attack Johnston, and Scott finally gave him permission. He advanced accordingly, expecting a fierce resistance; but to his astonishment found the works empty and the guns spiked. Suspecting a ruse, he became exceedingly cautious; and when Macdowell was ready to make his movement on Manassas Junction, and Scott wrote to Patterson to engage Johnston in order to prevent his re-enforcing Beauregard, Patterson delayed, and finally retreated, intending another maneuver. But Johnston was far more than his match in strategy; and was on his way to join Beauregard while Patterson was imagining that he had him in a trap.

On the 15th of July, Macdowell, with his enormous train of impedimenta, was ready to move; and Beauregard, through a spy, was informed of the number of men who were to be led against him, and of the precise hour at which they would set out. They left Washington, in fact, on the night of the 16th, and advanced as if going to a picnic; it was impossible to keep order in the ranks; the scouts did not know their duty, and the officers had little control. They reached Fairfax Court House by noon of the 17th, and spent the night there in a frolic, looting several of the abandoned houses; some of them paraded the streets in women's clothes. At nine the next morning they were at Centreville, where a battle was



and this he prepared to do on the south. His position at Centreville, on the north, was intended to hide his purpose. But his engineers reported that the southern or right flank could not be turned, and the plan had to be altered to turn the left flank. Meanwhile General Tyler, sent forward to reconnoiter, but with orders not to bring on a general engagement, disobeyed his instructions so far as to start up a lively and quite useless little battle at Blackburne's ford; after losing sixty men he retired, leaving the Confederates with the elation of victory. The night passed with nothing done; but Johnston was marching at full speed to re-enforce Beauregard, Macdowell flattering himself that he was safe in Patterson's grasp. It was not until Saturday, July 20th, that the engineers reported the ford passable; in the interval a regiment and a battery whose term had expired turned their backs on the enemy, and, in spite of the entreaties of Macdowell, marched back to Washington. Such are the incredible poltrooneries occasionally to be seen in war.

Macdowell's plan was now made—an attack on the right flank at Blackburne's ford; a feint at the center, and the main attack, under Macdowell, was to proceed by night to Sudley's ford on the left flank, and crumple up the enemy's line. This latter movement was accomplished, though the troops, unused to marching, spent two or three hours longer than had been calculated on the route, and were exhausted by their efforts. But the attack on the center had not been strong enough to deceive Evans, who commanded the Confederates at that point, and when he was apprised of the movement against the flank, he left the ford and faced it, holding the Federals until he was re-enforced. But by this time the engagement had become general, and there

bewildered to respond to the frantic efforts of their officers to rally them. Everywhere was smoke, and the roaring and rattling of guns, and great bodies of men in motion. The day seemed lost to the Confederates.

But a brigade of troops, five regiments and a couple of batteries, had just arrived from the Shenandoah Valley, and were drawn up in line across the turnpike along which General Bee's brigade was retreating in confusion. In front of the line stood its commander. "They are beating us back!" cried Bee, galloping up to him. "Very well, sir, we'll give them the bayonet," replied Jackson, composedly. "See!" yelled Bee to his men: "there stands Jackson like a stone wall!" It was a famous word, and gave the then almost unknown commander his title.

The flying men rallied on the colors; Beauregard and Johnston came up; the Federal advance was checked. There was an interval during which both armies remained in position; but the Confederates had now learned that the main attack was on their left, and they were concentrating there. In a wood covering the crest of a hill they formed in strength, and their batteries began to shell the Federals below. Macdowell had to face a body of troops now equal in numbers to his own, many of them fresh, and strongly intrenched. He sent Rickett's and Griffin's batteries to open fire, but they were insufficiently supported, and the enemy's fire was masked by the woods. They would have maintained their positions, however, had they not at that juncture been attacked by a regiment coming up on their right, which were mistaken for Federals until they discharged their muskets pointblank into Grif-

effort to carry the hill still continues and more than once almost succeeded; but at the critical moment the attackers are driven back; and they are weakening while the others are constantly gaining strength. For four or five hours the assault was kept up; then, gradually, the Union army began to crumble to pieces. The want of discipline again made itself felt, and now disastrously. Regimental organizations were lost; squads and individuals stopped fighting and walked off to the rear. Officers lost their men, and men their officers. There was no panic or stampede, but the Union army was steadily melting away. The Confederates did not know they had won a victory, and for a time the Federals did not think themselves beaten; but that impression finally gained upon them, and then they began to retreat in earnest. They were not pursued; they had not been defeated; but they ran, with ever-increasing good will. As evening drew on, a scene was witnessed such as had seldom before been seen in warfare. A great throng of sight-seeing non-combatants had come out from Washington in the rear of the army, to witness the defeat of the "rebels." These turned tail at the first alarm, and streamed headlong northward. All things that could retard flight were thrown aside, and the ground was encumbered with the most grotesque heterogeny of articles imaginable, from champagne bottles and note-books to cannon and brass horns. This headlong horde, pursued only by itself, converged toward a narrow suspension bridge over the stream called Cub Run, and there a terrible jam occurred; and to make it worse, a shell from a Confederate battery, which had been posted to command this bridge, exploded on an artillery wagon which had reached the middle of the bridge, and wrecked it there, blocking the way for all who followed. Here, accordingly,

sands hung in the air, and was mixed with the smoke of powder and the grime of the powder itself in the skins of the unhappy ones. A drizzling rain which set in on the Sunday night achieved what had seemed impossible in making the general misery greater. Such a draggle-tailed, wretched, shame-faced, exhausted, sleepy, disorganized and demoralized multitude of tramps as poured into Washington all the next day was never seen before. The dismay caused by their appearance (except among the numerous sympathizers with the South who dwelt in the city and ill concealed their triumph) was profound. It seemed as if the Union had gone to pieces, and the Confederates would presently come whooping down Pennsylvania Avenue. It was not quite so bad as that, however. Macdowell had succeeded in partly checking the rout at Centreville, and the brigades of Richardson and Blenker, which had been in reserve as a rear guard, formed in good order behind the fugitives and kept off the half-hearted pursuit of the enemy's cavalry. Indeed, it would have put the fugitives in much better conceit with themselves had a real pursuit taken place; they could not have run faster, and it would have helped them to explain to curious inquirers the reasons of their flight.

But all things have an end, and the retreat of the Union army was over at last. Jefferson Davis, on the battlefield, was declaring that "we have won a glorious but dear-bought victory." In truth it was neither dear-bought nor glorious; for the total losses on the Confederate side were but three hundred and eighty killed and a little over a thousand wounded, out of thirty thousand troops engaged; and the Federals had lost little more, except the fourteen hundred

fore them, but a real war with men who could fight, and made their preparations accordingly. A new call for men was issued, and Congress voted five hundred million dollars to continue the war. The South, on the contrary, thinking the war over, lost thousands of men who returned to their homes from the front; and the Southern cities began disputing as to which of them should be the seat of the government, which was now believed to be finally established.

Walt Whitman, in a description of the retreat, written in prose which was intended to be such, but which has much poetic spirit in it, says of Lincoln that "if there were nothing else of Abraham Lincoln for history to stamp him with, it is enough to send him with his wreath to the memory of all future time, that he endured that hour, that day, bitterer than gall, indeed a crucifixion day; that it did not conquer him; that he unflinchingly stemmed it, and resolved to lift himself and the Union out of it." The President indeed rallied more quickly than did the army; while Macdowell was still at Centreville, trying to get something like order into the struggling mass, he received a telegram from Washington saying, "We are not discouraged." There was certainly no need for discouragement; what was wanted was longer terms of service, and its corollary, discipline. There were men enough to do the fighting, and of as good material as any in the world; but they must be molded into soldiers—between whom and persons who are not soldiers there are vital differences. Half a million men were summoned to defend the Union, and they came. But they had to be transformed into an army; and the work of transforming them was intrusted to George Brinton McClellan, who had already been fortunate in the little battle of Rich Mountain.

Army of the Potomac," consisting of about two hundred thousand men. These men were enlisted for three years, and long before that period had elapsed they were the equals of any soldiers who ever fought. The country owes a lasting debt of thanks to the "Little Napoleon" for this, for the good effects of it were felt throughout the war. McClellan was a very young officer at this time, and very scientific, and he had the cocksureness of the cadet still about him; he was set in his opinions, and his opinions often betrayed a sore lack of wisdom and insight; but he was a good soldier in many essentials, and might, with sufficient experience in a subordinate position, have grown to be a great one. But to put such a man into the position of supreme command was to spoil him, and cut short his career. He was not ready for it; and what was more serious for him, he thought he was. He was very popular with his soldiers, and this increased his misapprehension of himself. But the trouble was, in those late summer days of 1861, that the North needed a leader, and had to take him who seemed likeliest without too much investigation. One after another must be tested—and a severer test was never applied to generals—and either discarded or adopted as the case might be. They must be tested in the field, for there was no military board to examine them; they must be judged by their performance, though often a judgment formed on this basis would be unjust or mistaken; for the men in Washington—Stanton and Lincoln—who had to make the appointments and pass the censures were wholly ignorant of war when they began, and had to learn, like the privates in the field, as they went

record of these, when the war was ended, was far more than creditable. Taking all things together, the difficulties with which the Union government had to contend at the beginning of the war can hardly be exaggerated. It is not surprising that they did not do better; it is astonishing that they did so well. It was a stern school for all concerned, and they graduated from it with honors.

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## CHAPTER THIRTY-FOUR

### *THE MISSISSIPPI AND THE POTOMAC*

WHILE the Army of the Potomac, under McClellan, was receiving its lessons in drill, a lively little war was going on in Missouri, which was about equally divided between secessionists and Union men; the division often extending to families, and separating father from son, or brother from brother. A motley army of Rebels, with no uniforms, and with equipments to a great extent improvised, was collected in the southwest corner of the state, and another crossed the Mississippi to New Madrid. The first army was commanded by Price and Macbride, the other by Pillow. Their united strength was about ten or twelve thousand men. They planned to effect a junction and move on St. Louis, driving the Federals out of the state; to oppose them was only Lyon at Springfield, half way between the two Confederate armies and to the north of them.

against them; but Sigel's men were surprised by a body of men under the Union flag, who, upon coming to close quarters, discovered themselves as Confederates, and drove the Federals in a panic. This left Lyon to continue the fight alone, which he did with great valor; but he was killed while leading his column at the enemy, having already been twice wounded. In that charge the enemy were temporarily repulsed, and the Union men seized the opportunity to retreat; they were not pursued: "we were glad to see them go," said a Confederate officer. The total losses on either side were not greatly over a thousand; but the death of Lyon, who had showed the finest soldierly qualities, outweighed that of many ordinary men. The battle was lost largely because raw troops cannot be trusted to carry out maneuvers under fire; but the Confederates were as raw as the Federals. It was numbers that won the day; in personal courage the two sides were alike.

Another defeat which was not a disgrace was sustained by the Union forces under Colonel Mulligan, a valiant fighter, as his name implies. He had with him three thousand men, and he intrenched himself on a hill to withstand the attack of Price with fourteen thousand. He was short of provisions and ammunition, and the conflict was hopeless; the army of Price, with plenty of artillery, completely surrounded his position, and might have carried it at once by assault; but being still too green to know their own strength, they proceeded by bombardment. At the end of the day Mulligan still held his position, though he had suffered loss and was in straits for water, and his ammunition was running low. The next day the attack was resumed; bales of hemp were used as movable breastworks by the enemy to approach the works. Mulligan set fire to them, and they were



But his officers protested that this was butchery, and he reluctantly called a council of war, which was unanimous for surrender. "We gave up the place, but I don't know nor care upon what conditions," said Mulligan afterward. His valiant resistance was a stimulus to Northern spirits, and his Irish Brigade carried the word "Lexington" on its banner ever after.

It was now November, and Fremont, who had been in the northeast part of the state, advanced with a considerable force toward the southwest, driving the enemy before him; and at Springfield a Polish officer of his bodyguard charged with one hundred and fifty cavalry upon fifteen hundred Confederates, put them to flight, raised the Union flag over the court house, captured the enemy's flag, and rode back. But Fremont apprehended that Price, whom he was pushing back, might be re-enforced by an army of ten thousand men under Polk, at Columbus, Kentucky; and he ordered a young subordinate of his, Ulysses S. Grant by name, to make a demonstration on the Mississippi to keep them in check.

Grant had resigned his commission in the regular army after serving through the Mexican war, but had re-enlisted at the outbreak of the Rebellion, and after some incidental disappointments, now found himself heading in the right direction. He set out by river for Cairo with five regiments, some cavalry, and a couple of guns, on the 6th of November. The enemy were in full force at Columbus; but at Belmont, above, there was a detachment which he landed to attack, sending down his gunboats meanwhile to amuse the ten thousand in Columbus. Polk was at first puzzled by Grant's movements, for he believed that a movement on Columbus must be intended, and was at a loss to understand why Belmont on the other side of the river should be

steadily through the woods on the Rebel camp; the fighting was stubborn, and he had his horse killed; but the Rebels gave way at last, and plunged down the steep bank to the river, where they might all have been captured had the Federals acted in a rational manner; but they turned to plundering the camp, and could not be rallied till Polk was upon them, between them and their transports. This was where a little discipline would have been worth many thousand men. They were panic-stricken, and could not obey orders; but "We cut our way in here, and we can cut our way out again," said Grant; and at length he reformed them and they succeeded in forcing a way to their boats. When they were ready to leave, Grant went back to look after his rear guard; but the rear guard had deserted its post and was already aboard. Grant himself only escaped by riding his horse down the almost perpendicular clay bank of the river. A plank was thrown out to the shore, and he rode on board the transport. The enemy fired on the boats from the banks; but the boats returned the fire with shell, inflicting some loss. A bullet went through a sofa in the cabin of the transport, on which Grant had a moment before been lying. Each army in this engagement lost about six hundred men. It was only another skirmish; but how near the North came to losing the man who was chiefly instrumental in leading her armies to victory! What is the meaning of these "narrow escapes"? The ways of God are unsearchable. Washington, Grant, almost all great commanders, have felt death brush against them as he passed. So does the common private in the ranks; and it is often the lives that seem most precious that are lost. But human history is evolved, and that which is to be is accomplished.

The so-called battle of Ball's Bluff was an affair hardly

acres in area. Here, of all places in the world, a force of Federals numbering seven hundred, who had been sent over to reconnoiter, sat down to rest on the 21st of October. On the Maryland shore opposite was Colonel Baker with another force. Hearing firing, and finding that there were not boats adequate to bring the seven hundred back while an enemy was firing at them, Baker, a brave man but no tactician, reasoned that it was incumbent on him to go over to them; since they might hold the enemy in check till he arrived, when the combined forces would be sufficient for victory. The Confederates let him and his men come across, and then developed their attack. Three more Confederate regiments joined the others and fire was opened from the woods. Baker, walking up and down before his men to encourage them, was suddenly assailed by a single warrior, who came out in front of his comrades and killed him with his revolver at five paces' distance. The second in command ordered a retreat, and the Federals began to hurry down the steep slope to the river; the Confederates stood above and shot down the huddled masses at their leisure, and many were drowned in attempting to swim the swift stream. Between seven and eight hundred survivors were captured. If the Federals had arranged this battle especially with a view to insuring their own slaughter, they could not have managed it better.

All operations of this kind, from the battle of Bull Run to the time when Grant began to hammer at the line of defense extending between Bowling Green and Columbus, were in the nature of what boxers would call sparring for an opening, and to learn each other's style and resources. No comprehensive scheme of a general campaign had been

over; and this seduced them into neglecting preparations, military and financial, which would have served them well later on. They were confident that they could protect themselves in their own chosen country, and did not think it worth their while to become aggressive. Their commissariat was inefficient, and they wasted power in incoherent activities. They gradually retreated before our advance in western Virginia, which was resolutely loyal; for the mountaineers had never had slaves, and owned no sympathy for those who did. Operations by sea during this first year of the war were favorable at the North; Pamlico Sound, within Cape Hatteras, was lost to the South by the capture of the two forts at Hatteras Inlet by Commodore Stringham, and their occupation by General Butler. Later, on the 29th of October, the forts at Port Royal were assaulted by Commodore Dupont of the Federal navy and garrisoned by a force under General Thomas W. Sherman. The efforts of the South were confined to blockade-running and to privateering, in both of which they were fairly successful: the privateer "Savannah" ran the blockade at Charleston in June; but her career was stopped by the United States brig "Perry," after she had captured one prize. The "Petrel," another privateer, was captured through the mistake she made in attacking the United States frigate "St. Lawrence," under the delusion that she was a merchantman. Suddenly the black sides of the warship grinned horribly with tiers of guns, and the "Petrel" was sunk before she could get out of range. Captain Semmes, however, of the privateer "Sumter," from New Orleans, achieved fame and made several valuable captures;

her of the Confederate commissioners Slidell and Mason. These gentlemen were on their way to Europe to try to negotiate an alliance with England or France; being encouraged thereto by the recognition of belligerency which these countries had almost immediately accorded to the Confederacy. The seizure of them by Wilkes, while under the protection of a neutral flag, was contrary to international usages; and England, who was very sensitive to infringements of these usages when committed by any other nation than herself, made preparations for war. Her attitude toward the North throughout the war was covertly hostile; she favored the South for two reasons: first, because she perceived that the prosecution of the war would weaken both South and North, and, if it were decided by the victory of the South, would render America no longer formidable; and secondly, because the blockade of Southern ports was inconvenient to England. Northern feeling was much aroused; it was thought that England was taking advantage of our embarrassment to injure us; and there was a large party who advocated accepting her offer of battle. But Lincoln was not a man to risk the ruin of his country on a point of pique; England was technically in the right, and this country could not afford to fight in defense of a wrong, even were she otherwise in a condition to face so powerful a nation as England on the sea. The act of Captain Wilkes was therefore disavowed, and Slidell and Mason were returned. But there was a latent purpose in the North to "take it out" of England when opportunity hereafter served. Fortunately for the peace of the world, the prolongation of the war, and the complexion of affairs afterward, prevented this; but the incident kept alive a feeling of hostility to

had established a tolerably effective blockade of the whole Southern coast, and had got possession of Fort Monroe, Fort Pickens, Hatteras Inlet and Port Royal. She had besides been successful in various small battles or skirmishes. In the ability of the general officers, both sides seemed on an equality; and the courage of the men on the field of battle was also equal. In this connection it may be observed that raw soldiers had been found to be almost as trustworthy as regulars for charges in the face of the enemy, or for holding positions against attack; what they lacked was steadiness in the face of either success or reverse; if they found themselves flanked, or were for any reason bewildered and thrown into confusion, they were apt to run. Only discipline and experience could correct these faults; and the armies on either side were sure of getting abundance of both. Operations in the field were now conducted on a scale, and with numbers, hitherto unequaled in warfare; and of course the chances of losing one's bearings were correspondingly increased.

By the time the year 1862 had set in, the Northern plan of campaign was mainly settled; there was to be no more sparring, but fighting in earnest. Half a million men were ready to serve on the Union side, and perhaps a hundred and fifty thousand less on the side of the South. Operations were carried on over a vast area, but the vital movement was that against the Confederate defense on the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers, for the command of the east and west railway. In this, co-operated Thomas on the east, and Buell and Grant, assisted by the gunboats of Commodore Foote, on the rivers. The defense was conducted by Beauregard

below Columbus, by Foote and Pope; and the surrender of Memphis. At this juncture Bragg, of the Confederates, who was stationed at Chattanooga, marched on Louisville, his course taking him across the states of Tennessee and Kentucky, with the object of cutting off the Union communications. Buell, who was moving southward, fell back to Nashville, and then, divining Bragg's plan, he raced against him for the Ohio, where he arrived first and received large re-enforcements. This obliged Bragg to fall back to Perryville, forty miles south by west of Louisville; here he turned on Buell and a severe battle was fought, Bragg getting away that night; and Buell, who had suffered him to escape, was superseded by Rosecrans. Grant, meanwhile, whose force had been weakened by the re-enforcements sent to Buell, was threatened by Price and Van Dorn, with a view to the recapture of Corinth. Grant maneuvered, with the aid of Rosecrans, to defeat them separately; but owing to a misunderstanding, Price escaped Rosecrans, and uniting with Van Dorn, the two besieged Rosecrans in Corinth, but were defeated, and pursued with loss. Assuming command of Buell's army at Nashville, Rosecrans set out to encounter Bragg at Murfreesboro', twenty-five miles southeast. Each general attacked the other's right. Bragg was at first successful, falling on his enemy as the latter's left was crossing a small river. Sheridan, however, supported Rosecrans's weak right until his left could get into action; upon which the Confederates charged in vain. Renewing the attack two days later, and being again repulsed, Bragg retreated; but the losses on both sides had been enormous—a fourth part of the number engaged. Chattanooga was thus laid open to the Federals.

A simultaneous attempt by Grant in co-operation with Sherman to capture Vicksburg, further down the Missis-

while Sherman was to make his attack at Chickasaw Bayou, north of Vicksburg. Sherman, knowing nothing of the event which kept Grant from moving, made his attack accordingly, but was repulsed. Farragut had already captured New Orleans; Burnside had got possession of Roanoke Island, controlling the coast of upper North Carolina. Successes in Florida and Georgia put every city on the coast except Savannah, Charleston and Wilmington into Federal hands; to counterbalance these victories, the iron-clad "Merrimac" entered Hampton Roads and sunk the "Cumberland" and destroyed the "Congress"; but on her return to finish her work on the rest of the fleet next day, she was challenged by the "Monitor," and obliged to retreat. This duel may be said to have saved the Union cause; for had the "Merrimac" not been opposed, she and other vessels of her sort could have destroyed the Union fleet, Fort Monroe, and the other coast defenses in Union possession; checked the Peninsular campaign, which was then in progress; given free egress for Southern Cotton, and won the support of Europe for the Confederacy.—Let us now examine some of these operations from a closer point of view.

At the beginning of the combined movements to break the Columbus-Bowling Green line, Buell was at Louisville. Zollicoffer, a Confederate, was at Mill Spring on the Cumberland River, some hundred miles to the south. Against him Buell sent General Thomas, who, after a march in the mud, made ready to attack; but the Confederates decided that they themselves would attack, and they moved by night on Thomas's camp at Logan's Cross-Roads, ten miles away.



bing elbows with the officer in the rubber coat; each mistook the other for one of his side. "Are you fighting your friends?" asked the Confederate, as Frye was ordering his men to fire on a Mississippi regiment.—"Certainly not!" returned Frye, staring; and at that moment Zollicoffer's aid recognized Frye's uniform and emptied his pistol at it. Frye could take a hint, even on a January morning; he drew his revolver, fired a bullet through Zollicoffer's breast, and was off, himself untouched. Zollicoffer's death took the heart out of his men; the Ninth Ohio drove through their center with a bayonet charge; they turned, and in a few minutes were utterly routed. Thomas pursued them back to Mill Spring, and made arrangements to cut off their escape; but a steamer stole up in the night and had ferried almost all the troops across the river before dawn. When she was discovered, a shot from the battery at the river bank sunk her; the stable door was once more shut after the horse had escaped. But abundant munitions of war remained to console the victors. The battle demolished Confederate resistance in the east, and Grant, Buell and Foote could conduct their operations with an undivided mind.

The Tennessee and Cumberland rivers, running nearly parallel for the last hundred miles of their course, empty into the Ohio within about ten miles of each other, and forty miles east of the Ohio's junction with the Mississippi, at Cairo. Roads were almost non-existent in this region, and indeed in most parts of the United States, at this time, and the only means of extended travel were by waterway or railway. The Tennessee and Cumberland, therefore, must be guarded to prevent the Federals from penetrating the Confederate line. This was done by the erection of Forts

think of nothing but drill, and Richmond. On the 2d of February, however, Grant got permission to attack Fort Henry on the Tennessee (the western of the two rivers), and was off from Cairo with seventeen thousand men. The flotilla, protected by iron-clad gunboats, took the army up the river in two installments; some torpedoes obstructing the channel were removed, and on the morning of the 6th the troops and gunboats advanced to the assault. The Confederates, who had but four thousand men, were additionally handicapped by the fact that a freshet in the river had inundated their fort, so that they were fighting mid-leg deep in water. On the other hand, the roads were almost impassable, and delayed Grant's march till the fight, conducted between the fort and gunboats, was over. It was a lively artillery duel, and the flagship was disabled; but the gunboats and the river combined finally prevailed, and Tilghman, having got most of his garrison safely off on the road to Fort Donelson on the Cumberland, twelve miles away, hauled down his flag, and the victors actually sailed into his works.

While Grant was preparing to follow on to Fort Donelson, he sent the gunboats up the river into Alabama to destroy whatever military works they could find. He reconnoitered Fort Donelson, and found it mounted on a high hill at the bend of the Cumberland—a position almost impregnable compared with that of Fort Henry. The approach up the river was commanded by two water batteries; it was skirted by log redoubts and earthworks with abattis extending for three miles up and down stream. The guns were heavy, and the garrison numbered twenty thousand men;

The delay caused to his advance by the rains enabled heavy re-enforcements to reach him by order of Halleck, and before the critical moment arrived, his fifteen thousand men had been increased to near thirty. On the morning of February 12th, a warm, spring-like day, he marched in two divisions along parallel roads. McClelland and Smith led the divisions till, toward sunset, they startled the enemy's pickets. In the morning a line was formed covering the land side of the enemy's works. While this was being done, sharpshooters were thrown forward to harass the enemy. Finding his line too thin, Grant sent back to Fort Henry for Lew Wallace, who had been left in charge there with the rear guard. He was stringing out his men over eight miles of country; and if the twenty thousand men in the fort made a sally at any point, it must be successful. But Grant thought that Floyd would not make a sally, and therefore he took chances. In his plan of battle, he had intended to use his troops only to hem in the enemy, letting the gunboats reduce the water batteries and guard the approaches up and down stream. But matters turned out differently. In the first place, McClelland, much annoyed by a battery on the Confederate left, ordered it taken, though it was a very strong position, and was defended by five regiments against the three which were to attack. The assault was gallantly delivered and long sustained, but it failed, and the loss was heavy. Night fell and with it came a frost, which added to the discomfort of the soldiers. But in the morning Wallace arrived with his command, and was stationed on the Union left. If Floyd had made a sally that night, he would have been successful; but now his chance was gone. The following afternoon the gunboats arrived, and opened their bombardment, receiving a vigorous reply. They inflicted serious damage on the works, but two of them were disabled, and at evening all dropped down stream out of range. The honors were with the fort; but Floyd had become alarmed, and wished to retreat. During the night ten thousand of

his troops were massed on the left of the fort, whence a road goes southward to Charlotte. In the morning the sally began, the brunt of it falling on McClernand. His division was forced back, Lew Wallace hesitated to support him without orders from Grant, who had gone down the river to confer with Foote, and it was not until late in the day that he threw his command across the path of the advancing Confederates and checked them. At that moment Grant rode up.

He had not anticipated any sortie from Floyd, and had to make his dispositions at a moment's warning. Happening to hear from one of the soldiers that the Confederates were carrying three days' rations, he at once perceived that their purpose had been not to attack, but to fight their way out. He ordered Wallace to retake the position won that morning from McClernand, and then, riding to the Federal left, he directed General Smith to carry the formidable works on the Confederate right.

Wallace intrusted the assault of the position held by the Confederate Pillow to Colonel Morgan Smith with a Missouri and an Illinois regiment. They met a killing fire, but continued to go forward; Colonel Smith's cigar was cut from his mouth by a bullet; a soldier handed him another, which he lit, and went on. A few minutes later the Union men were in the works, and the line of escape which Pillow had opened, but had delayed to take advantage of, was closed again. Meanwhile, at the other end of the line, General Smith, on horseback, his gray hair blowing out behind him, was leading an even more perilous assault. The enemy's fire was very terrible; the hill was steep; concealed rifle-pits and breastworks commanded every part of it; a formidable abattis delayed the assailants at the most difficult moment; as they went forward, the ground behind them was strewn with bodies dead or wounded. General Smith was the most conspicuous figure there, but his bearing put a new heart in every man who followed him. The setting

sun flung the shadows of the Federals before them as at last they reached the crest of the hill and poured into the works. The Confederates fled, nor could the valiant Buckner rally them. It was a great day for the Smiths. It was an ill day for Floyd and Pillow; and to make it worse, the latter, after his success in the morning, had telegraphed to Johnston that he had won a great victory, and the news appeared in all the Southern journals the next morning, at the very time that Fort Donelson was being unconditionally surrendered, and Pillow and Floyd, abandoning their trust, had saved themselves by flight, followed by the hisses of their own men. For Floyd, fearing to fall into Federal hands with his record in the War Department, had devolved his command upon Pillow, and Pillow had shifted it to Buckner; who, after their departure, sent word to Grant to ask him what terms he would accord him. All the world has heard Grant's reply: "No terms except an immediate and unconditional surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works."

On the Sunday morning, February 17th, the Federal troops marched into the fort with flags flying and bands playing, while gunboats fired salutes along the river front, and thousands of spectators cheered. "Had I been in command, general, you wouldn't have got Donelson so easily," remarked Buckner to Grant, afterward. "I shouldn't have tried it in the way I did," was Grant's reply. For in war, as in everything else that men do, the personal equation tells.

This victory took Kentucky and Tennessee from the South, caused the evacuation of Columbus and Bowling

against him; and some of these, induced by what dishonorable jealousy we need not inquire, sought to crush him in the bloom of his fame. An anonymous letter of abuse was sent to Halleck at Washington; his replies to inquiries from Halleck were kept back in the telegraph office; and he was suddenly suspended from command. Before the slanders were refuted, and he was reinstated, valuable time had been lost. He had already planned a movement on Corinth, and now commenced it; but Johnston, one of the best generals of the Confederacy, had foreseen that this railroad center would be attacked, and had been preparing its defense. Beauregard, Polk, Van Dorn, the brave braggart, and Braxton Bragg assembled there from all quarters with all the men they could muster, till the total reached fifty thousand. Grant had to work against different material from that which he had encountered at Fort Donelson.

Grant had about thirty thousand men at Donelson, and Buell, at Nashville, had thirty-seven thousand. These must be united, and the Confederates would be outnumbered. Grant got his army down to Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee, twenty miles north of Corinth, and his camp extended to Shiloh church. He was waiting for Buell; but he neglected to fortify his position, and meanwhile rode off to look for news of Buell at the Landing. The Confederates knew that Buell was expected, and that if they wished to have the advantage in the battle, they must not wait to be attacked. A council of war decided to surprise the Federal camp at daybreak on the 5th of April. Whether it was a surprise, or whether it had been anticipated, may never be determined; the Southerners think it was a surprise; Sherman and Grant appear to be of another opinion. At all events the preparations to withstand it were not effective. The pickets were driven in early in the morning of the 6th, and

commands of Sherman and McClelland; but his men stopped to plunder Prentiss's camp, and they found the second Federal line more stubborn. As the battle continued over the uneven ground, it became divided into a number of separate engagements. Sherman was pressed hard by Hardee, supported by Bragg, and began to be outflanked. He was separated from Prentiss, but was joined by McClelland, and held his own. The nature of the ground and the confusion made it impossible for Grant to control the entire movements, and he applied himself to keeping the various divisions up to their work, being solicitous chiefly to defend his position at Pittsburg Landing during the day; for on the morrow Buell would arrive. But the Federals were being worsted, and numbers of them had given up the fight and were struggling for places of safety along the river bank. At two in the afternoon Sherman and McClelland, on the right, were being slowly forced back, until they had lost a mile; Prentiss and Wallace, hastily intrenched on a low hill, were holding the key of the Federal battle, and the day depended upon their resistance. Bragg attacked it again and again, and was repulsed with terrible slaughter. This was the "Hornet's Nest" which sent forth so many fatal stings to its assailants. Further on the left was the brigade of Hurlbut, intrenched on a similar hill, and making a like defense. General Johnston, seeing that his men were faltering, rode along the line and told them that he would lead them. He did lead them up the hill and over the first line, when he was struck in the leg by a ball, but maintained his seat for a time, not to dishearten his men. An artery had been severed, however, and he soon bled to death. It was an untoward moment for him to die, the best man in the Confederate armies; had he lived out that day, he might

and carried it, Prentiss being surrounded and captured and Wallace mortally wounded; but they had resisted for four hours, and, as it turned out, that was enough. Yet the battle was now practically won for the Confederates; for the Federals were shut in by their line on one side, and by the Tennessee and Snake Creek on the others. Bragg was about to head the final charge.

But an aid of Beauregard's rode to his side and delivered an order stopping the pursuit, lest the men be exposed to the gunboat fire: the "victory was sufficiently complete." The same order had been given to Polk, and he was drawing back. "Is a victory ever sufficiently complete!" exclaimed Bragg. But he obeyed, and the firing ceased. It was near evening, and the armies lay down where they were. Before daylight Nelson's, McCook's and Cullenden's divisions of Buell's army had arrived; and also Lew Wallace's force of seven thousand men. The latter had been on the march since the previous day, but had taken a road which would have brought him to the rear of the Confederate's attack, and might have changed the fortune of the day; but Grant, who had been looking for him by the river road, and was uneasy at his non-appearance, had sent messengers who found him and caused him to countermarch. The things that might have been and were not, in war, are past reckoning. Wallace and his seven thousand were welcome on any terms.

With twenty-five thousand fresh troops, it was Grant who attacked the next morning. The Confederates were no longer in the conquering humor of the day before; the death of Johnston was known, and the re-enforcement of the Federals; and they felt that Beauregard's incompre-



and turned for Corinth. The night march along the narrow and difficult road, beaten upon by a rain which changed into a cutting hail, was terrible; there was little provision for the wounded, and three hundred men died of exhaustion by the way. They had lost altogether nearly eleven thousand, and had inflicted a still greater loss on their enemy. But few defeats are so hard to bear as that which should have been a victory.

The battle had been a strange, anomalous, perplexed affair, full of heroic courage, of mistakes, of accidents; fought by troops as yet little accustomed to war, and showing the lack of military experience. But in such a school, lessons are quickly learned, and the soldiers who survived those two tremendous days might well claim the title of veterans. War had few horrors that could find them unprepared.

The capture of Roanoke Island, in Pamlico Sound, where the Confederates had fortified themselves after being driven from Hatteras Inlet, had been accomplished by General Burnside in January; and he followed it up by taking Beaufort and Fort Macon at the Southern extremity of the Sound. The Federals were greatly superior in numbers to their enemy in these encounters, and met with few difficulties and small losses. The true center of interest was still in the west. Polk, after being forced from his strong position at Columbus by the fall of Donelson, had betaken himself to the tenth island below Cairo in the Mississippi, placed at the bend of a sharp horseshoe curve, and easily fortified. The little town of New Madrid, further down the stream, but, owing to the upward bend of the river after passing Island No. 10, further north also was well situated.

control of the lower river without running the gantlet of the Confederate batteries on the Island. Foote's gunboats had bombarded these works in vain for three weeks; but the garrison now prepared to escape, and ran right into the arms of a Federal force which Pope had placed along their route. Seven thousand prisoners, with guns and other material, were the reward of this operation; and Foote, descending the river, met and defeated a Confederate fleet above Fort Pillow, and that stronghold was abandoned. Still pushing southward, the Union gunboats engaged a second fleet off Memphis and destroyed it, compelling the surrender of the town. This action was on the 5th of June. It had been rendered possible by the battle of Shiloh, which broke the Confederate power in that region. The Union line now extended from Memphis, through Corinth, nearly to Chattanooga, and was confronted by the Confederates at Holly Springs, Iuka and Chattanooga, commanded by Van Dorn, Price and Bragg respectively. While the Federals were considering whether to make an attack or to await one, Bragg suddenly passed by their left flank and set off northward. Buell, fearing that his purpose might be to get in his rear, fell back on Nashville, where an intercepted dispatch indicated that Louisville, three hundred miles away, was Bragg's destination. There was no one there to oppose him, and unless Buell could outmarch him, Nashville was lost, and other valuable things also. At Frankfort, Bragg was joined by Kirby Smith from Knoxville, and his advance was continued, Buell racing him on a line constantly approaching his own. The two armies would have arrived simultaneously had not a burned bridge at Bards-

Bragg was on his way back, with a baggage train forty miles long full of plunder. The battle of Perryville, fought on October 8th, was sharply debated, the success at first being with the Confederates, and half of the Union army now being engaged at all. At the end of the day, owing in large measure to Sheridan's efficiency and courage, there was little advantage on either side, the Federals having lost about four thousand, and the Confederates rather less. But Bragg perceived that he could not hope to win against Buell's numbers, green though most of the troops were; and during the night he slipped away. He had tried to dragoon Kentucky into the Confederacy; but though their hearts might be willing, their property kept them back, and they would not respond to his summons. But the supplies he took back with him were of great use to the meagerly furnished Southern army. Retreating by way of Cumberland Gap, he was not pursued by Buell, who retired to Nashville, and was superseded by Rosecrans; for to the minds of the government at Washington, an ounce of energy and dash, at this juncture, was worth a pound of caution.

After the minor engagements with Van Dorn and Price, Rosecrans moved south to intercept Bragg, who was bound on another foraging tour. Both generals had in the neighborhood of fifty thousand troops. On the night of December 30th they lay within striking distance, the lines running north and south, the country level fields with clumps of cedar, and the stream of Stone River flowing parallel with the army lines. Knowing that Crittenden's division faced the weakest point of the Confederate line, while McCook confronted the strongest, Rosecrans decided to pivot on the

and the Union right was outflanked and fell back. The struggle was desperate, and there was hand to hand fighting with the bayonet. But in less than an hour the Confederates had won the ground at this point, and McCook's division was cut to pieces. Three miles away, meanwhile, Rosecranz was directing Crittenden, not knowing what had befallen. The information he presently received did not convince him of the full extent of the reverse, and he sent insufficient reinforcements, and orders for McCook to hold his ground. But even Sheridan was now in full retreat. Rousseau, with his reserve, stayed the backward movement for a time, and then Rosecranz rode up, through the thick of the fire. He formed his new line at right angles to the first one, answering to the wheel of the Confederates. His best men and best generals were there, and his own example was an inspiration. Against this line the Confederates dashed themselves all day in vain. At nightfall, Rosecranz held his position, and the two armies rested for the night. Bragg had expected the Federals to retreat under cover of darkness, but finding them standing fast in the morning, he resolved to attack. Breckinridge was sent to take an enfilading Union force on a hill and drive them on to the river; the hill was taken after a bloody fight, but in pursuing them to the river the Confederates ran into a trap, and were cut to pieces by ambushed infantry, and a battery of artillery under Crittenden. Bragg did not renew his attack, but prepared to fly; and before midnight he was gone, leaving twenty-five hundred wounded in Murfreesboro'. In no battle of the war had there been fiercer fighting than in this; and it was Rosecranz's invincible determination not to be beaten that saved it. "Bragg is a good dog," he had remarked, with a touch

The northern part of the Mississippi had been cleared, but the part below Vicksburg and including it was still in Confederate hands; and when Stanton, in conversation with Butler at Washington, had suddenly exclaimed, "Why can't New Orleans be taken?"—the Massachusetts lawyer-general had sententiously replied, "It can." In the spring a fleet of forty-seven vessels under Captain Farragut, carrying several thousand troops commanded by Butler, appeared off Forts Jackson and St. Philip, defending the river approach, and began to bombard them. Green boughs covered them, so as to render them indistinguishable from the wooded banks where they lay. The firing continued for six days, breaking distant windows by the concussion, and stunning fish in the water, but not seriously injuring the forts. Farragut became impatient, and taking counsel of his daring, resolved to run the batteries. He protected his boats with chain cables and sand bags, cut the cable which had been stretched across the river above, and began the ascent, delivering and receiving a tremendous fire. Having passed the batteries, he had next to dispose of the fleet of thirteen ships which was in wait for him; he destroyed all but one, and kept on. On rounding the bend where New Orleans came in sight, the cotton bales along the levees were set on fire, with the shipping, and the smoke and flame roared up and down the water front for a distance of five miles, while drifting fire-rafts set his own vessels ablaze. Butler, attacking the forts in their rear, forced their surrender and occupied New Orleans, while Farragut continued up stream to Baton Rouge and Natchez, and still pushing upward, passed the batteries of Vicksburg, and joined the fleet above. Butler was made military governor of New Orleans, and his administration of it was one of the picturesque features of the war. The inhabitants did not love him; but he was an able and successful administrator

navies of the past, and laid the basis of those of the future. The experiment of protecting ships with railroad iron and cables had already been tried several times during the war, with good results, such armor being generally applied for the occasion only; but the Confederates were the first to construct an armored defense for a vessel upon anything like scientific principles. When the Norfolk Navy Yard had been abandoned, the steam frigate "Merrimac" had been scuttled and sunk; but later, Norfolk again coming into their possession, they raised her, and covered her with a superstructure of iron plates, strong enough to resist ordinary cannon-shot, and sloping like the roof of a house. An iron beak was added in front, to enable her if necessary to ram an enemy. The whole was covered with grease, so that missiles might more readily slip aside from her metal scales. This ugly and formidable contrivance was brought into the Roads on Saturday morning, and after demanding the surrender of the United States sloop-of-war "Cumberland," Captain Morris, and meeting with refusal, she opened fire. Her broadside crashed through the "Cumberland" at close range, but the answering fire of the "Cumberland" rebounded from her armament like "hail from a roof of slate," as Longfellow describes it in his famous poem. The "Merrimac," not to be detained longer, rammed her antagonist, and the "Cumberland" sank, with a final broadside as she went under, and her flag still flying from the mast-head.

The United States frigate "Congress" was the next victim of this monster; her captain ran her ashore, but the "Merrimac" swung across her stern and sent shot into her till she surrendered, unable, like the "Cumberland," to make any impression on that iron hide. The "Minnesota,"

folk, intending to resume her meal the next morning. The battle had been watched by a crowd from on shore; the day had been clear, and the features of the affair could be plainly seen; but a strong current of air setting along the coast prevented any sound being heard from the heavy guns; though in the other direction they were audible for over fifty miles.

The prospect for the North, at the end of this day, was dark. An engine of war which could visit any part of the coast and bombard any town with absolute impunity to itself was a new thing in war, and might alter the entire aspect thereof. But a man of genius had been at work in the North for several months past, and the result of his labors appeared in the very nick of time. The "Monitor" had been launched at New York, and had been making a troublous voyage thence to Hampton Roads ever since; she was commanded by Lieutenant Worden, one of those brave men whose bravery is not overcome by unprecedented conditions. The vessel, to all appearance, was a flat raft of steel, rising but a few inches above water; her decks projected over the lines of her hull like a sort of horizontal eaves, and were heavily plated with metal. In the center of her deck uprose a round turret, like a pill box, which revolved by steam-power, and carried two eleven-inch guns, which could thus be directed toward any point of the compass. The vessel was small, and as the men had to live below the water-line, in their iron box, their discomfort, especially in a sea-way, was intense. But the "Monitor" was not designed to fight on the high seas, but for the defense of harbors; nor was she built for a pleasure-yacht, but for solid fighting. She was, at that time, the only machine in the world capable of

the torpedo-boat destroyer. But for his timely aid, the Civil War might have had another termination. Worden was happily selected to command the new creation in action.

The "Monitor" took her station near the stranded "Minnesota"; and when, on the beautiful Sunday morning of March 9th, the "Merrimac" steamed back to her work, this little thing came forth to meet her. She did not look formidable, with only two guns and no visible hull; but it soon appeared that her two guns were as good as twenty, and her sunken hull made it impossible to hit her effectively. The turret was a difficult object to strike, and as it was plated with eight inches of iron, the balls of the "Merrimac" produced no impression on it when they struck. She was much quicker in maneuvering than was her unwieldy foe; and though in point of size and seeming power the Confederate vessel was beyond comparison superior, in actual effect the "Monitor" was the more formidable of the two. Her heavy balls pounded the "Merrimac" until the latter found even her armament insufficient; she prevented her from attacking the "Minnesota"; and the attempts of the "Merrimac" to ram her were wholly ineffective, for the great iron beak slid harmlessly over her steel deck. At length, therefore, the defeated monster turned tail and steamed away, sending back a parting shot which struck the pilot house or conning-tower in which Worden was directing his fight, and rendered him insensible and partly blinded him; this being the only casualty on board. The battle was never renewed. The "Merrimac" was afterward blown up in Norfolk harbor; and the "Monitor" foundered in a heavy sea off Cape Hatteras, while on her way to Beaufort. Sixty vessels of her type were built during the war; and the modern ar-

tial features,



struggle in Virginia, in which the Federals aimed at Richmond, and the Confederates, while defending their capital, occasionally menaced Washington. Indeed, Washington was a much more vulnerable point for the North than was Richmond for the South; the capture of the former would have opened the way for an invasion of the North; whereas the South could best be attacked along the Mississippi. Having in view the relative strength and resources of the South and North, it might have proved better strategy for the former to abandon any attempt to push operations in the latter's territory, and confine her whole strength to repelling the fatal blows which Grant and the generals with him were delivering at her vitals. But the fact remains that the best leaders of the South, and her finest armies, were concentrated in Virginia during the entire war; and it was there that her chief successes were gained. These successes however did her no good, save in so far as they occasioned the slaughter of tens of thousands of Union soldiers. But they also cost the lives of an almost equal number of Southern men; and the South could repair such losses far less easily than could her antagonist. The battles fought by the Confederacy in Virginia were brilliant, and the strategy shown by her generals was consummate, and superior in most cases to that of the Northern leaders. But while Stonewall Jackson, Robert E. Lee, and the rest, were victorious in this or that particular battle, the very life was gradually being hammered out of the South; her money and her men were being exhausted. She was like a skillful boxer who is slowly worn down by the mere exertion of fighting a gladiator of inferior activity and skill, but of indomitable strength and endurance. The advantage on "points" was hers; but she was nevertheless

northwesterly direction; the latter being the shorter and apparently the easier route of the two. It was this route which McClellan chose; but it left the other route to be protected against Confederate attack, and it involved (as McClellan found to his cost) many difficulties of its own. Lee and Jackson outgeneraled the Union leaders again and again, and Lincoln tried one after another with the same result of failure. It was not until Grant had captured Vicksburg and assumed the commandership in chief of all the Union armies, that the tide turned. Grant himself came to Virginia, and there, in a series of mighty battles, fought Lee to a standstill. With Lee's surrender, the war was practically at an end. But it was not until the South had shown that, with men and money in sufficient quantity, she would have been unconquerable.

The army of the Potomac was moved down the river from Washington on transports and landed at Fortress Monroe on the 4th of April, 1862, to the number of about one hundred thousand. Yorktown was their first objective point, on the southern bank of York River; it was occupied by Magruder with twelve thousand men, five thousand of whom were thrown out as an external defense; and such was the ability with which a line over twelve miles long was defended, that McClellan was kept at bay a month. He sent to Washington for heavy siege guns, but before he could open fire with them, Magruder, having accomplished his purpose, withdrew upon Richmond. It was at this time that Norfolk was abandoned, and the "Merrimac" blown up. General Joseph E. Johnston was at that epoch in command of the Confederate armies in Virginia, and, in order to guard his baggage train, he had left a strong force at Williamsburg, about the center of the Peninsula, which became

suspecting that an engagement would occur. There was no connected handling of the Union soldiers, but they fought as they thought best. Hooker distributed his skirmishers among the trees and kept up a fire which temporarily silenced Fort Magruder; he was charged, but held his ground. While he was fighting, another body of Union soldiers under Smith was standing idle not far off, thirty thousand strong; and it was not till evening that they became engaged on their own account. Hooker, however, was not to be entirely abandoned; for General Kearney came up from below, at the sound of firing, and was just in time to support Hooker as he was beginning to fall back. Kearney charged with the bayonet and drove the enemy back; but night came on before the advantage could be followed up. At the same time Hancock, then a young officer, found and occupied some deserted redoubts on the right, and had a sharp brush with the enemy; McClellan arrived as the fighting ceased, ordered the positions to be held, and prepared for an attack the next day; but by the time he was ready, it was found that the enemy had escaped. McClellan did not pursue, but rested in Williamsburg. When he finally resumed his march, he found no obstructions but muddy roads, and kept on until Richmond was but eight miles distant. It seemed ready to fall into his hands; but there were years of time and hundreds of thousands of lives between him and his quarry.

Nevertheless, Richmond was in a panic, and every one, from Jefferson Davis down, feared their time was come; for they did not yet know McClellan. In spite of urgings from Washington, he would not move without re-enforcements; and these could not be sent, because Stonewall Jackson was

to appreciate this weakness, and sallied forth with thirty thousand against Casey with eighteen. The charge was overwhelming, and the Federals slowly withdrew, though Kearney delayed the retreat for a while. But after fighting from noon till five o'clock, with constant losses and reverses, the day was saved at the last moment by General Sumner, who came across a log bridge over the Chickahominy with a battery of guns. The Confederate general Johnston was wounded by a shell at the head of a charging column, and his followers fled. All the night the rain poured down, as it pours nowhere but on the Peninsula, and the Virginia mud was knee-deep. In the morning the Federals renewed the battle and drove the Confederates before them; thus winning the battle of Fair Oaks after it had been lost. Such changes of fortune were not uncommon in the war.

For a whole month after this fight—when he might have marched into Richmond without resistance—McClellan lay supine in the mud, planning, but doing nothing. The interval was improved by the Confederates to raise a large army and devise a plan of campaign. The result was to bewilder McClellan and create a panic in Washington to offset that which had lately been felt in Richmond.

Stuart made a cavalry raid in McClellan's rear, between him and Washington, destroying supplies and threatening his communications by rail. Macdowell, with thirty thousand men, who was marching to join McClellan, was also hindered by this move. To further delay their junction, Johnston ordered Jackson to threaten Washington by way of the Shenandoah Valley. Jackson, re-enforced by Ewell, chased Banks across the Potomac. With his fifteen thousand men he paralyzed sixty thousand and created a commotion that was unprecedented; never did the North so fear

base from the York to the James River, thus obviating the peril to which Jackson's operations had exposed him. The same day that he had fixed upon to make this move, Lee, who had taken charge of the active campaign, attacked the Federal right at Mechanicsville. He was repulsed, but the Federals fell back to Gaines Mill, and held the bridge across the Chickahominy till night. By this time Lee had fathomed McClellan's purpose, and attempted to take advantage of it. Magruder went round by a road that cut his line of retreat, and struck him in the rear. But the Federals showed the benefit of their long drilling, and held their own steadily till night, when the retreat was resumed. As the columns passed Frayser's Farm they were once more assailed by Hill and Longstreet, but without effect. At length they assembled on Malvern Hill, and here was fought the last of the "Seven-Days' battles," on the 1st of July.

Malvern Hill is a high plateau, with the James River to the south of it; it is of oblong shape, about a mile and a half in length, and has in front a concave form, with terraces rising one above another; the summit is bare of timber. It slopes down from its height of less than a hundred feet to low meadows and wooded marshes, with streams traversing them; a road ascended it on the north. Weary with their six days' tramp through woods and swamps, with the enemy ever hanging fiercely on flank and rear, hither came the troops of McClellan's Grand Army of the Potomac. They planted sixty cannon on the slopes, and behind them were ten thousand rifles. It was a position nearly impregnable; but Lee, believing that he had McClellan on the run, made



ang & Co.

Farragut's Fleet, near New Orleans



Porter commanded the troops. He had not imagined that Lee would venture to storm the hill, but from its summit he saw the regiments forming and deploying. Here were the Union troops to take revenge for all that they had suffered since the movement began.

The conditions of the battle were of elemental simplicity. The Confederates had to advance across half a mile of swampy meadows, and ascend the hill. From the moment they came in sight, they would be exposed to a withering fire, which would more and more converge upon them as they drew near; until, if they ever gained the slope, it was almost impossible that any man would live to mount it. That it could be captured, so long as the fire continued, was an impossibility. Officers and men knew that they were being sent to certain death; but Lee and Jackson scrupled not to send them. "My men will be annihilated: nothing in the world can live there," said a colonel who received from Jackson the order to advance. "I take care of my wounded and bury my dead," was Jackson's reply—the least manly utterance of his ever reported. Charge after charge was hurled back without effort; the Confederates never got near enough to cause a moment's anxiety. They fell by thousands. At dark only they gave up the effort, utterly beaten and disheartened.

Nothing now intervened between McClellan and Richmond but the shattered remnants of a defeated, exhausted and demoralized army. Lee had brought his whole strength into this contest, and had none left now that it was over. He was helpless, and he and all with him knew it. All through that July day, in swampy ground, making terrific exertions, his men had fought and died: and for more than



"To have left our position would have endangered our communications, and have removed us from the protection of our gunboats," said the Little Napoleon; and he issued orders to retreat. The whole army protested. Phil Kearney expressed the general sentiment when he said, "I, Philip Kearney, an old soldier, enter my solemn protest against this retreat. In full view of the responsibilities of such a declaration, I say to you that such an order can be prompted only by cowardice—or treason!" History is unable to reverse his verdict. The Peninsular campaign ended there, and with it the reputation of McClellan. The problem of this man's character and conduct has never been solved. No officer in either army was more accomplished in the science of war; he had not his equal as a disciplinarian; he seemed to have high ambition, and self-possession. His six days' retreat has been pronounced the finest work of its kind ever done. But there was some strange deficiency in him. It is hardly conceivable that he was a coward; none who have known him can think so. It is extravagant to suppose that he was a traitor; such treason as that would imply, would be unique. But his excuses for inaction all through the Peninsular campaign were preposterous; and this final one was an insult to human intelligence. The passionate words of Phil Kearney remain in the memory, and it is to be feared that they may sum up the verdict of posterity on McClellan.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-FIFTH

### *THROUGH THE VALLEY OF DEATH*

WHAT remains of the story of the war will be told briefly. The description of battles is not the History of the United States. The annals of courage in the field are fascinating, and yet there is a certain monotony in them. The conditions vary, there are changing combinations, the character of generals is revealed, and traits of individual prowess are developed; but after all, the sum is that men fight, and face death, they die, they are defeated, they are victorious. Allowing for the difference of weapons, the battles of the Greeks and Persians, of the Romans and Carthaginians, of the Saxons and Normans, contain features which constantly remind us of the fights of to-day. It makes little essential difference that the range of the rifle is some miles, while that of the broadsword is the length of the arm. Men are killed in both cases.

The most deadly fighting, and many of the most striking achievements and episodes of the war, were still to come. Great reputations were to fall, and others yet greater were to be made and confirmed. Owing chiefly to the genius and marvelous vigilance of two men—Lee and Jackson—the

is not like other wars; the armies are fighting in their own country, and yield at last, not because they have lost one battle or another, but because the country is exhausted.

After the fight at Malvern Hill, McClellan remained where he was, feeding his army from ample stores, and leaving the Confederates to recuperate their strength and collect other men to supply the place of the 20,000 they had lost in those seven days. The only way to conquer such an army as Lee's was to keep pounding at it without a moment's cessation, as Grant afterward did. But McClellan, under one pretext or another, allowed his foe every chance to recover, and to forestall him; whenever, by accident or design, he had him at advantage, he turned away, and permitted him to rise again. At the present juncture, his army greatly outnumbered any that Lee could muster; but he waited until Lee was ready to march on Washington, as if the matter were no concern of his. The depression throughout the North was great; and the South, despite its terrible losses, was correspondingly elated.

Lincoln brought together the commands of McDowell, Banks and Fremont, which had been unsuccessfully opposing Jackson in the Shenandoah, and called Pope from the west to command them. Fremont resigned from jealousy, thus giving the measure and quality of his patriotism. Pope assumed control with a want of tact that set one's teeth on edge. "We have always seen our enemies' backs in the West: I come from an army which sought its enemy and beat him when found; whose policy has been not defense but attack." This was not the way to win the affection of his new soldiers. It made him enemies among his fellow officers; and there seems to be little doubt that McClellan deliberately denied him re-enforcements which he was in honor bound to supply, in order that he might be defeated and unseated from his command. That

"Let Pope get himself out of his scrape," he wrote to Lincoln. One marvels that Lincoln should have trusted him yet again after such a revelation.

Pope's force was now called the Army of Virginia, to distinguish it from the Army of the Potomac. McClellan being deposed from the chief command, Lincoln appointed Halleck, who had been in control over the Mississippi department, to succeed him. He could hardly have made a worse selection; Halleck had uniformly exerted his authority to spoil the plans of better men. He now ordered the Peninsula abandoned, counting all the money and lives spent in it as worse than wasted. The army must attack Richmond from the north. McClellan wished to cross James River and invest Richmond on the south, thereby stopping Lee's re-enforcements, and the supplies of the city. This was the plan which Grant carried out two years afterward. But Halleck had Jackson on his nerves, and the Army of the Potomac accordingly made ready to embark in the great fleet of transports waiting at Fortress Monroe.

Lee was only waiting to know whether it was to the re-enforcement of Pope or to McClellan that the army was to be assigned; for his plan was to strike either before the re-enforcement could reach them. From John Mosby, who had been a prisoner in the Federal lines, and who was afterward famous as a cavalry ranger, he learned that Pope was the man to whom the advance on Richmond with the consolidated army was to be intrusted. He at once made ready to throw his whole army into Gordonsville, where Jackson was already confronting Pope. The railroad south to Richmond and Charlottesville starts hence. He advised Jackson in advance. Cedar Mountain is in the vicinity, with a deep ravine on its northern side. Jackson stationed himself on this hill overlooking Banks' camp below. Banks had sent

son thrice as many. The latter's force was concealed by the woods; he slowly advanced under cover of artillery, to which Banks vigorously replied. Banks, ignorant of Jackson's strength, at last resolved to attack him; and such was the courage of his soldiers, that the attempt came near resulting in a victory. Crawford outflanked them on the left, and rolled their wing back on the center in confusion. Meanwhile the Union center and left struck the enemy heavily, and were also successful. Early alone withstood them; but unless he was speedily supported, the battle was lost.

Jackson came to the rescue. At first, he too was forced back; but when he rode to the front and led the men himself, they recovered, and drove the Federals in their turn. But the latter made so strong a stand at the ravine that Jackson paused, and night put an end to the battle. Jackson thought he must have Pope's whole army before him, and he retreated to the Rapidan. The Federals had lost nearly half of their whole number; but they had fought the most brilliant battle against odds of the war thus far. Jackson, hampered by the very position which had seemed to give him the advantage, had been able to bring but a part of his huge force into action. The Federals suffered a technical defeat in being driven from the field which they had won; but such defeats are as good as most victories.

But the Confederates were soon to win more useful successes. A raid to the rear of the Federals by Stuart resulted in the capture of Pope's official papers, and very nearly of the general himself; and the papers showed the precise situation and plans of the Union army. Lee, in order to make the crossing of the Rappahannock possible for his army, sent Jackson by a detour to the Federal rear. Jackson set off with thirty-five regiments down the Shenandoah Valley;

reached the village of Salem, passed through Thoroughfare Gap, where Pope might easily have stopped his whole army with a few regiments, and descended on Manassas Junction, where were the stores for sixty thousand men. For an hour or so Jackson allowed his hungry, thirsty and ragged soldiers to help themselves to what they wanted, except to the whisky, which was poured on the ground. Then the march was resumed, and the remainder of the stores burned.

But Jackson was in a most perilous position, and Pope was soon awake to the facts. He made every preparation except the one that he should have made—he did not send a force to hold Thoroughfare Gap against Longstreet, who was following in Jackson's footsteps. Longstreet marched through without check; meanwhile Jackson chose the field of Bull Run, on which he had won his nickname, as the best adapted for the coming conflict. A part of Pope's command came in contact with a vastly superior force of the enemy concealed in Groveton Woods, and fought them till dark, killing General Ewell. At night the Federals continued their march in search of the very enemy with the bulk of which they had been contending. Jackson was waiting for Longstreet, and getting into the best position for the fray. A more absurd situation than that of Pope could not be imagined. He was by this time in force; but so wooded and uneven was the country that he could not lay his hands on his enemy, who was close at hand. And he knew that unless he could find him before he was re-enforced, the victory would be at least doubtful. He did find him at last, and the battle that was fought was one of the most desperate of the war.

Jackson had the embankment of an unfinished railroad

army had they been supported; but fresh troops came down upon them, and they in turn retreated. Kearney meanwhile was engaged at the other end of the line. He made charge upon charge, and forced back the enemy, which was re-enforced and held its ground. Again he charged, with the aid of Hatch; but now part of Longstreet's men, who had arrived came to the support of the Confederates, and the Federals must retire. This ended the fighting for the day. Pope fancied he had won, and so telegraphed to Washington. He was, in fact, already defeated; and the losses on both sides were seven thousand men. The next morning Jackson's and Longstreet's forces were united like the two sides of a triangle; Pope, with blind confidence, attacked Jackson. He imagined that warrior was retreating. The charges of yesterday were repeated with even more determination. In one place the antagonists fought within ten yards of each other for an hour, and when they had exhausted their ammunition, continued the fight with stones. But when the whole Federal force was concentrating its attention on Jackson, who was getting beaten and calling for help, Longstreet opened on the flank with his batteries. Three times he shattered the Federal ranks, and thrice they re-formed under fire; but then comes Longstreet's infantry charge, and a whole fresh army throws itself against the exhausted battalions. Pope was all but surrounded. He threw a regiment of regulars on the hill where stood the Henry House; and the Confederates could not dislodge them. Night had fallen, with drizzly rain. Under cover of the regulars the rest of the army retreated in good order, having lost fourteen thousand men; the Confederates, ten thousand. The second battle of Bull Run, as it is sometimes called, had been as different from the first in its charac-

he was no match for his great antagonists—Lee had come with Longstreet, and helped direct the battle—and partly through the accidents of war. He afterward tried to lay the blame of his defeat on Fitz John Porter, who was to have attacked on his left, but who confined himself to maneuvering. Porter was convicted by court-martial, but finally cleared himself. He had been ordered to engage unless opposed by Longstreet. Pope had not been aware that Longstreet had arrived; but Porter saw him, and his maneuvering was with a view of keeping him in check so as not to interfere with Pope's attack. In this he had succeeded till the end of the day, when Longstreet attacked from another position.

A few days later General Phil Kearney, during a heavy skirmish at Chantilly on September 1st, rode into a squad of the enemy, mistaking them for his own men, and was shot before he could get away. His body was returned by Jackson with a military escort; for he was one of the most gallant soldiers of the war.

Washington was now in a dangerous position. Lee crossed the Potomac and advanced into Maryland, which he hoped to win over to the Confederacy. McClellan, on the failure of Pope, whom he should have supported, had been tried once more with the supreme command. He re-organized the army and followed Lee. The latter had sent Jackson on a raid to Harper's Ferry, where Colonel Miles with eleven thousand men was stationed. Jackson stormed the heights and forced Miles to surrender; but McClellan had learned of his action, and that Lee's army had been depleted by Jackson's twenty-five thousand men, and he



reason, so far as one can conjecture, than to allow Jackson time to get up. Jackson came, accordingly; but even with him, Lee had but forty thousand men—half the number under McClellan. There was a bridge across the creek; McClellan ordered Burnside, on his left, to cross this bridge and attack the enemy's left, as soon as Hooker's charge on the enemy's right should have been successful. But Hooker's attack on Jackson had the effect of nearly exterminating both parties; they were repeatedly re-enforced, and the slaughter continued with no result. Burnside crossed the bridge at one o'clock, but was repulsed by Hill. The next day McClellan did nothing; and suffered Lee to escape under cover of the following night. The battle was indecisive, with the honors on the Confederate side; but it stopped Lee's invasion, and he was compelled to recross the Potomac. It was not until six weeks after the battle that the army of the Potomac followed Lee; and then McClellan's pursuit was so deliberate that Lincoln and Stanton were finally disillusioned, and gave him his well-deserved dismissal. A sterner sentence would not have been unjust, in such circumstances.

Burnside was chosen to supersede McClellan; but the army he was called upon to command was now one hundred and fifty thousand strong, and he declared himself incompetent for the task. But Lincoln insisted, and he acquiesced. He had none of the faults of McClellan; he was only too brave and rash. He made his plan, and did his best to carry it out; and in the single battle of Fredericksburg he lost twelve thousand men, half of whom fell in the attempt to take a single position, where the Confederates

ing generals, I may get one that I don't understand." He proved that he understood Burnside well enough; and when Grant came, he probably understood him also; but Grant could beat him.

Burnside's plan was simply to cross the Rappahannock, with a feint at Gordonsville, and advance on Richmond. pontoons were sent to take the army across. The Confederates were strongly intrenched on the heights on the south bank of the river. There was difficulty in laying the pontoons, owing to sharpshooters' fire from the houses in Fredericksburg; but volunteers went over in boats and drove the enemy out. The bridge being then completed, the army crossed, and was gathered about the town. Below, General Franklin had gone over with fifty thousand men. The total intrenched force of the Confederates was eighty thousand. It was the 13th of December, and a thick fog lay over the valley.

Jackson commanded the right wing of the enemy, and Hunter was ordered to attack him with his whole force. Instead of doing this, he sent only Meade's corps, which charged up the hill and broke through the line, but, being unsupported, was forced to give way, and thus the only chance of winning the battle was lost; for had this flank been turned in force, it would have enabled the front and left attack to prevail. But the battle raged furiously on the slopes of Mary's Heights, where the stone wall crowned the hill. Upon the ascent was directed, by the defenders, a converging fire, somewhat like that which had mowed down the Confederates at Malvern Hill. The Union men advanced against it with the same bravery, and were slaughtered in the same way, only in much greater numbers. As

and he sent General Humphrey's division to destruction. Seventeen hundred men fell in fifteen minutes. Burnside, obstinate even then, arranged to send in his own corps the next morning; but General Sumner persuaded him against it. At night the Union troops retired across the river, and another attempt on Richmond had disastrously failed. The armies went into winter quarters, and all was quiet on the Potomac.

In September of this year, Lincoln had, as a war measure, issued a proclamation declaring that on and after January 1st, 1863, all slaves in seceded states would be declared forever free. It was a measure which had long been in contemplation, but had been delayed owing to doubt as to its effect. Many thought it would create or confirm a party in the North opposed to the war, and that it would inflame and render implacable the resistance of the South. Lincoln had hesitated long, for the responsibility was his. He had made the first draft of the document in July, but had thought it prudent to wait till a decided Union victory was won; but there had followed a series of reverses. Finally came the battle of Antietam. "I had made a solemn vow to God," said Lincoln, "that if Lee was driven back from Maryland, I would crown the result by the declaration of freedom to the slaves." The Proclamation did not affect slaves in those slave states which had not seceded, such as Missouri and Kentucky. It proved to be as wise a measure as it was a bold one; it led to no murderous slave insurrections, as had been apprehended; and as the Confederates were already doing their best, it added nothing to the force of their resistance. But two hundred thousand new soldiers enlisted in

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town. There was a bend of the river opposite Vicksburg, and the suggestion was made to dig a canal across the neck of the curve, as at Island No. 10, and turn the river into a new channel. Other ways of flanking the great river were proposed, and some of them were attempted; but none of them answered. Finally, Grant resolved to march down the west bank, in spite of the many topographical difficulties, letting the gunboats run the batteries, extending eight miles; which they successfully did about the middle of April. Meanwhile a corduroy road had been made through the swampy land, and the army, meeting the fleet below, was ferried over to Bruinsburg on the eastern shore. Grant now had two hundred miles to march, northward, overcoming whatever resistance he might meet by the way. It took him a little over two weeks to do this, and on the road he fought and won four battles. The first was with the advance guard of Pemberton's army at Port Gibson; then he threw himself between Pemberton and Joe Johnston, who was coming to Pemberton's assistance; defeated Johnston on May 14th, and beat Pemberton in two more battles at Champion Hills and at Black River. Thus he compelled him to take refuge in Vicksburg, where he designed to capture him along with the rest of the garrison.

After the failure of Sherman's Yazoo River expedition to aid Grant in the earlier movement against Vicksburg, he had been superseded by McClelland. But when Grant was given control of the western army, he gave Sherman a corps, and they made the campaign together. On the 18th of May he had a conference with Sherman, in whom he always reposed great confidence, and they arranged their plans for investing Vicksburg.

important point in the Confederacy, and would hold it at all hazards.

Grant believed that the garrison was demoralized by the beating he had given Pemberton in the field, and could be captured by assault. The bridge had been destroyed, but he built others, and Sherman sent a body of regulars under Colonel Washington to take a battery. The men reached the battery, but Washington was killed, and they retreated. But Johnston was in Grant's rear, and it was necessary to make another effort. On the 22d, accordingly, supported by the fire of gunboats and batteries, another assault in force was delivered, and the flag was planted on the bastion; but it was found impossible to hold the position. All along the line of attack there were the same gallant charges, and the same results. McClernand sent a report saying he was successful, which caused Grant to order another general assault; but the report turned out to have been erroneous, and at the end of the day the repulse was complete. Vicksburg could not be taken by assault. It must be reduced by regular siege.

The siege continued for nearly seven weeks; but Grant's restless energy would not allow of his waiting for starvation to do its work; he laid out elaborate approaches and diagonals; and a continual fusillade of the enemy's ramparts was maintained. The practice of the Union sharpshooters became almost miraculous. No one could put his head above the walls with safety. Mines were dug under the works, and countermines were made by the garrison. In a word, every device which American ingenuity could suggest was employed on both sides. At evening there would sometimes be an informal truce, when the antagonists would chat and

diers told Pemberton that unless they were fed they would mutiny. Pemberton consulted his council as to the chances of cutting their way out, and was told that the condition of the men made it impossible. He then resolved to surrender; and on the 8d of July a white flag appeared above the works. Pemberton and Grant met, and Grant announced that his terms were unconditional surrender; and Pemberton, after a show of resistance, submitted. The surrender was on the 4th of July. It was the most important victory of the war until the battle of Gettysburg; forty-six thousand prisoners went with it, sixty thousand stand of arms, and two hundred and sixty cannon. The total Federal loss was under ten thousand men. When Banks, who was besieging Port Hudson, heard the news, he caused a salute to be fired; and the garrison, upon learning the reason of it, surrendered likewise. The Mississippi was now open, and Grant was recognized as the great soldier of the army.

Rosecranz began in June a series of maneuvers which resulted in driving Bragg into Chattanooga, where he meant to shut him up as Grant had shut up Pemberton; but Bragg was not to be so caught, and got out; Rosecranz pursued him, and his line became so extended that Bragg, being re-enforced, turned to strike it. It was rapidly drawn together, and at Chickamauga another great battle was fought.

It lasted two days, the leading feature being the tremendous and sustained attack which Bragg directed against the Union left under Thomas. Rosecranz kept the latter supported, but on the second day, removing a brigade too hastily, Bragg saw the opening and pushed in on the right, breaking up the Union formation, and driving the right and

was superseded by Thomas; and Grant made preparations to relieve him.

The boot now began to get on the other leg. Grant, who had gone down to New Orleans, came up in haste; Hooker was detached from the army on the Potomac, and Sherman forced his way through from the Mississippi. Altogether there were eighty thousand men on the ground, besides the twenty-five thousand with Thomas already inside the Chattanooga line. Davis, utterly misapprehending Bragg's danger, had ordered fifteen thousand of his men sent away to engage Burnside at Knoxville two weeks before.

Chattanooga is surrounded with hills. On the 23d of November Thomas's troops came out as if on review, and charged straight for an elevation called Orchard Knob, facing the Confederate position, captured it after a brief struggle, and occupied the batteries upon it. The Confederates lay in a line twelve miles long between Missionary Ridge and Lookout Mountain, the latter an abrupt height rising two thousand feet. Earthworks ranged along the intervening valley. Grant's strategy assigned to Hooker the task of attacking Lookout Mountain, and to Sherman the Ridge; Bragg would deplete his center to strengthen these points, upon which Grant would direct his main strength upon it. Under cover of the early morning mist of the 23d, Sherman began his attack upon the Ridge, and gained a footing on its northern end. Hooker not only assaulted the mountain, but, warming to his work, performed the almost incredible feat of fighting his way to the dizzy summit, where he unfurled the Stars and Stripes, and his camp fires were seen sparkling in the sky. In this exploit, as in other episodes of the battle, the men in the ranks took matters into their

of the ridge, waited for the morrow to renew his attack. But his progress the next day was unsatisfactory, and it became evident that he would need help. Grant had sent Hooker to threaten Bragg's rear, but a swollen river and a broken bridge embarrassed him, so that the desired diversion was not accomplished. Grant, standing on Orchard Knob, ordered twenty thousand men to take a line of earthworks along the base of the ridge. Not only was the order carried out, but the men kept on up the ridge, at first leading their own officers. The latter, however, speedily leaped to the front; and at the same time Grant, perceiving that at last the time was come, directed that a charge be made along the entire line of battle. No finer spectacle could be imagined; the setting sun flung the shadow of Lookout Mountain far across the plain, but sparkled on the arms of the advancing soldiers; they were met by a fierce fire to which they did not reply, but continued to ascend the rugged steep, each man climbing as best he might, following the standards, which waved beyond; they rolled up the crest like a long wave of the sea, and overtopped it. Down sank the sun, and with it the hopes of the Confederate army; they retreated, and their own guns turned upon them made havoc in their crowding multitudes. The great battle of Chattanooga put eastern Tennessee in the power of the Federals, and removed the defenses of the eastern states, Georgia, Alabama, and the Carolinas. Bragg had lost the confidence of his soldiers and resigned. Burnside, who had been transferred from the Potomac to the Ohio, had been checked in his southward march by Longstreet's ragged but heroic corps; but now Sherman, set free by the victory at Chattanooga, raised the siege of Knoxville. Sherman's troops had, since the 27th of September, marched five hundred and twenty miles and fought at Chattanooga: they were in



with the Army of the Potomac under its new leader, Hooker. Hooker had assumed the command at a time when the spirit of the army seemed broken, and desertions were numerous. He reorganized it, and made it, as he thought, the finest in the world. Possibly it was; but it had not yet got its fitting leader. Hooker's plan was good: he would feint at Fredericksburg with Sedgwick, while he himself, with the bulk of the army, crossed above Chancellorsville and attacked the Confederates' rear. He had one hundred and twenty thousand men, and the withdrawal of two divisions under Longstreet to the James had diminished Lee's strength to about fifty thousand.

Hooker reached his strategical position without mishap, and fancied he had Lee at his mercy. He was in communication with Sedgwick by way of Bank's Ford; and had he advanced it is difficult to see how he could have failed. But at the critical moment he fell back from the open plains into the Wilderness—a thick and tangled jungle, unsuitable for the movements of either cavalry or artillery. Lee had meanwhile turned his army so as to face Hooker, and then, detaching Jackson to make a fifteen-mile detour with twenty thousand men to fall on Hooker's rear, he attacked in front. The first part of Jackson's movement was toward the south, and Sickles, seeing one of the flanking regiments, jumped to the conclusion that the whole Confederate army was in retreat to Richmond; he captured the regiment, but Jackson kept on, swung to the right, passed behind the Federals, and, rushing suddenly through the thickets, surprised them at supper. There was a wild stampede, only checked by Keenan's devoted charge, which allowed Pleasanton time

are peculiarly happy, as showing that amid all the shocks of war, in which he had ever borne a leading part, the heart of the great soldier was at peace. His loss was irreparable to the Southern cause, and was an omen of the end.

Hill, succeeding Jackson, was also wounded, and the command devolved upon the picturesque cavalier, Stuart; Hooker altered his formation during the night; his headquarters were at Chancellorsville, and his two flanks on the river, his line thus forming a sharp curve. Stuart seized Hazel Grove, a small hill opposite the center, and Sickles and Slocum had to meet the whole force of the Confederate attack; five charges were repulsed; but Hooker was stunned by a cannon ball which struck the pillar of the house against which he leaned; Lee effected his junction with Stuart, and the day was lost for Hooker's invincible army.

But while this was going on, Sedgwick had been successful in his attack on Fredericksburg and was marching against Lee from behind. Lee turned like a panther, drove Sedgwick back across the Rappahannock, and was back before Hooker had realized his opportunity. During the night the latter moved his army back to its former position on the Washington side of the Rappahannock; and seventeen thousand men had been lost with no gain to show for it—except the death of Jackson and thirteen thousand men; but these were not due to Hooker's strategy. He had been a mere bewildered monster in Lee's hands, and the losses he had inflicted were due chiefly to his blind kickings and struggles to escape. Strange was the destiny of the Army of the Potomac; but its hour came at last.

Lee, who had been so brilliant in defense, was now to prove, for the second and last time, what he could do in attack. His advance into Pennsylvania was well planned,

Union army following in the same direction, but on the other or eastern side of the Blue Ridge. Stuart's cavalry held the passes, and prevented the Federals from knowing what was going on on the western side. Lee's army was the best yet collected by the Confederacy; he lived upon the country as he went forward, but forbore to plunder property. Hooker having resigned, Meade succeeded him. After crossing the Potomac, the two armies began to feel each other; Lee, facing east, was coming from the west of the town of Gettysburg, and Meade was taking his position on Cemetery Ridge, at the south. Lee was not then looking for a general engagement, but wished to distract Meade from threatening his communications. Neither did Meade contemplate a decisive battle; but his cavalry under Buford, put forward to veil his march to Pipe Creek, where he proposed to fight, came in contact with Lee's advance guard on the 1st of July. The valiant General Reynolds was killed here while making a reconnoissance; the Federals were forced back and suffered losses in the town; but night came on, and during the dark hours the armies on both sides came up, and were marshaled by moonlight. There were, on each side, about eighty thousand men.

The real battle began on the afternoon of July 2d. Sickles, too far in advance of the main body, was outflanked and compelled to retire to Cemetery Ridge, where he stood. The range of hills of which Cemetery Ridge is a part has the general form of a hook; the shaft of the hook runs north and south; it bends over toward the east; Cemetery Ridge is at the bend; Culp's Hill at the barb; Little Round Top and Round Top are at the southern end of the shaft. The entire chain is south of Gettysburg town. After forcing back Sickles, Longstreet, who had driven him, was

meanwhile captured Culp's Hill, was compelled to evacuate it the next morning. The day had gone against the Federals, but they were now for the first time in a favorable position to fight.

At one o'clock on July 3d Lee began, and for two hours maintained, a cannonade of unprecedented fury on Cemetery Ridge. Everything was torn to pieces; the Union guns could not reply effectively, and their fire ceased. At three o'clock eighteen thousand Confederates, in a double line two miles in length, preceded by skirmishers, emerged from the woods and charged. At a distance of four hundred yards the Union artillery got to work upon it; but they only quickened their advance. Now they were within range of the infantry fire; even this they braved, and with Pickett leading them they rushed up the slope. They carried the first Union line, and placed their flag upon it; but behind it was another and a stronger line. From this opened a terrific fire, striking the Confederates full in the face. It was irresistible. Not a tenth, not a quarter, nor a half of the Confederates were cut down; but three-fourths of the attacking columns were destroyed. It was the end of the charge, the end of the battle, and for practical purposes the end of the war. The invasion was over. Lee had lost thirty-six thousand men. Altogether, his two attempts to invade the North had diminished the force of the South by ninety thousand of the best troops in the world. Each had lasted about two weeks. The game might have been worth the candle, but there was not candle enough for the game. A campaign, at that rate, would cost two million men a year. Meade had lost twenty-three thousand men; but they had saved the Union.

Meade allowed Lee to retreat slowly across the Potomac. Two or three months afterward, Lee made a rapid dash

Meade in turn crossed the river, intending to catch Lee's army in separate parts; but Lee brought it together and fortified it so strongly that Meade gave up his purpose, and the campaign of 1863 was over. 1864 was to be the year of Grant, and the beginning of the end.

There had, however, been one incident of the campaign which deserves mention for more than one reason. A number of monitors had been building since the famous fight in Hampton Roads, and a fleet of them were now placed under the command of Admiral Dupont and taken to the harbor of Charleston. Undue confidence was felt in the ability of the armor to withstand any punishment; but it was presently apparent that it had its limits. Obstructions had been placed in the channel by the Confederates, in such a position that, while the fleet was detained by them, the concentrated fire of three hundred guns could be poured upon them. The aim of the gunners was good, and the vessels were pelted as by a hailstorm of iron; the "Keokuk," struck nearly a hundred times, was sunk, and the rest of the fleet more or less maimed. Three months later, Gillmore renewed the attack by land. Fort Wagner had been erected on the north end of a sandy spit called Morris's Island. It had resisted one assault; but on the night of July 18th a force of several thousand men under General Strong attempted it again. With these troops was the Fifty-fourth regiment, composed of negroes. Shaw was its colonel, and among its officers was young Lieutenant Higginson—the former known to be affiliated with the abolition party, and the more hated by the Southerners. This was perhaps the only battle of the war in which the animosity felt against the Northern forces by the Southern soldiers was inflamed by a sort of personal

be relied on in battle. The result was to prove that a man may be a dauntless soldier, though black, and with a lifetime of slavery behind him. Gallantly led, these men, with the others, crossed the half mile of open sand which was swept by the Confederate fire, and mounted the walls of the fort. The advantage could not be held; Shaw was killed; in a few minutes Lieutenant Higginson found himself the ranking officer of the remnant of the regiment. Twelve hundred Federals were killed or wounded; among the latter a youth named Robley Evans, long afterward famous as "Fighting Bob." The Confederate loss was less than a twelfth that of their assailants. The result was in a measure satisfactory to both sides; the Federals, though utterly defeated, had proved the worth of the negro; the South had wreaked its vengeance on the latter, but was forced to concede his bravery. An ungenerous resentment marred the conduct of the victors; in burying the negroes, they flung into the same common pit the body of their gallant leader. The enmity which pursues its object beyond death is unworthy of a civilized people. The survivors of the Fifty-fourth were led back by Higginson. A siege was begun and the fort was bombarded till it was untenable, and the garrison escaped a last assault only by evacuating the place during the night. Sumter was hammered into ruins, but an assault upon it failed. The "Swamp Angel," an eight-inch Parrot gun, threw huge shells into the city of Charleston; but all efforts to capture the city failed.

Both nations were already feeling the terrible strain of the war; conscription at the North had reached men of forty-five years of age, and in the South it finally included the entire male population. Lincoln's emancipation of the slaves,

conflict to the end remained. Lincoln rose to the full stature of his greatness, and took his place beside Washington as the champion of his country under conditions even more appalling than those which Washington had met. On the 19th of November he made the speech at Gettysburg, on the occasion of the dedication of the cemetery there, which still remains the most memorable utterance of the war, and embodies the highest thought that any war undertaken for righteous causes can inspire. "We cannot consecrate this hallowed ground," said he. "The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it far above our power to add or detract. The world will but little note, nor long remember, what we say here; but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather to dedicate ourselves to the unfinished work which they so nobly advanced; to consecrate ourselves to the great task remaining, and to gather from the graves of these honored dead increased devotion to that cause for which they gave their lives. Here let us resolve that they shall not have died in vain; that this nation shall, under God, have a new birth of freedom; and that government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish forever from the earth." Only a mind and heart of the very highest quality could have given this idea an expression so without flaw. The words take their place by an inevitable law of nature, like sea and sky and mountains. Lincoln had always been a man of great elements; but he was now arrived at almost the loftiest stage of human development. The sublimity of patriotism cannot further go; and the leader of a people in battle cannot, while the battle continues, mount above patriotism. In a calmer hour Lincoln might have spoken of the heroes who had fought against the North on that day,



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Sheridan's Ride, Cedar Creek





Lincoln, speaking as he did at a moment when the feeling on both sides of the struggle was at its bitterest, let fall no word which should still further inflame it. The rude boatman and rail-splitter of Illinois had risen to the compass of the mightiest whom God has made.

Passing over minor episodes, including the harrowing annals of Libby Prison, we come to the military chieftainship of Grant in 1864. Sherman and Johnston, two masters of strategy, maneuvered against each other in Tennessee and Georgia. Sherman had the larger number of troops, but Johnston fairly matched him until Davis, failing to comprehend his merits, superseded him with Hood. He thrice attacked Sherman on his way to Atlanta, but was each time repulsed; Sherman moved his army to the rear of Atlanta, where Hood was intrenched, and when the latter sent Hardee to protect his communications Sherman threw his men between him and the city; Hardee retreated, and Hood evacuated, escaping capture. But Atlanta and Georgia were severed from the rest of the Confederacy. In the four months' campaign the two armies had lost seventy thousand men. Finally Hood collected his force and threatened Sherman's line of supplies from Nashville. Sherman, after chasing him into northern Alabama, left Thomas to meet his advance in Nashville, and turned to march seaward through Georgia with sixty thousand men. Kilpatrick's cavalry guarded against surprise; the army destroyed the lines of railway between which it journeyed on its long tramp of three hundred miles. It subsisted on the country, having entirely cast loose from its base. Leaving a wake of desolation sixty miles wide behind it, it headed for Savannah, having by a feint toward Augusta induced the

of December Sherman sent news of his safe arrival at Savannah, whose garrison evacuated the town without a contest. With a loss of but five hundred men, Sherman had destroyed a hundred million dollars' worth of property and subdivided the Confederacy. This, with Savannah and twenty-five thousand bales of cotton, was his Christmas present to the North.

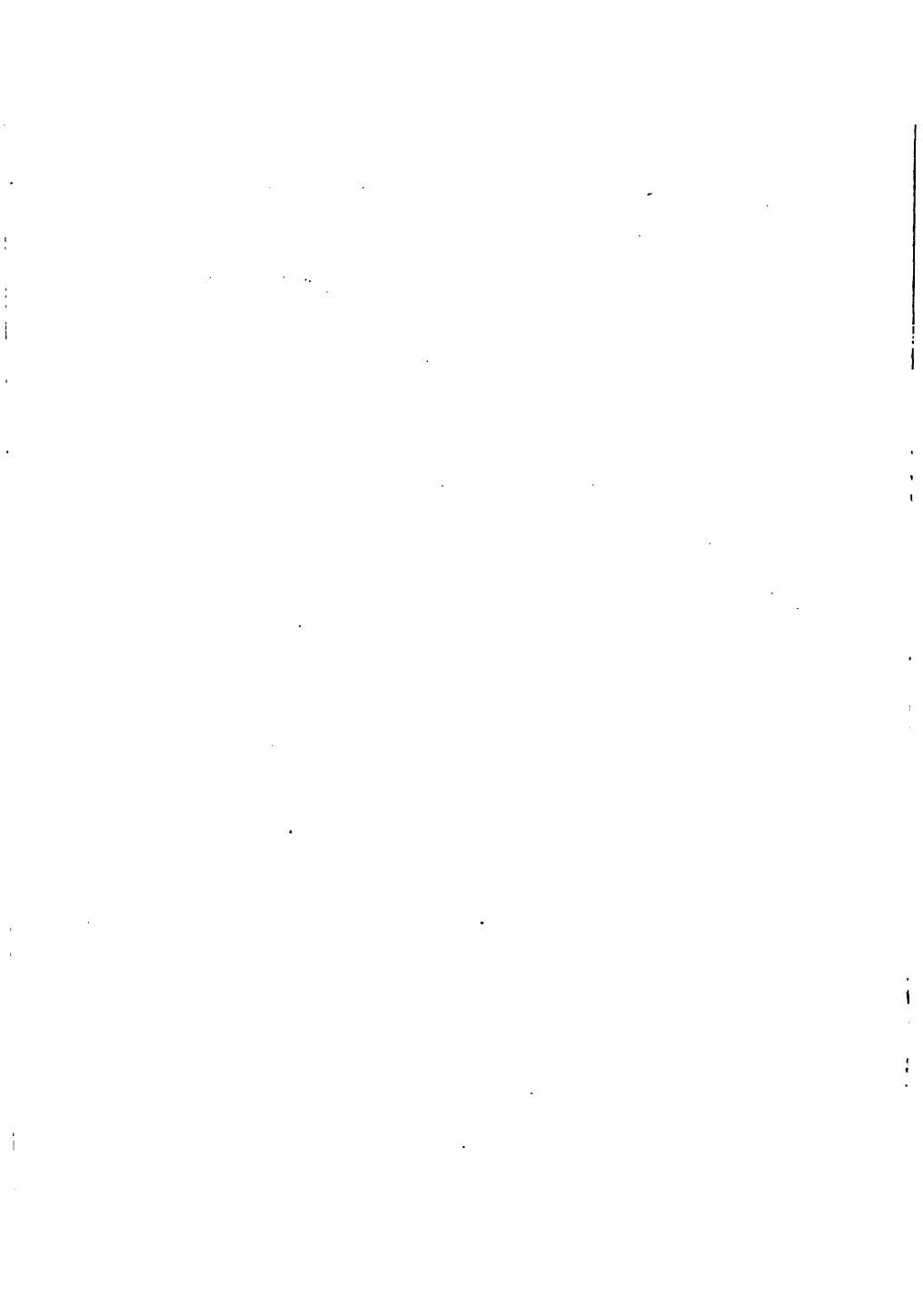
Meanwhile Thomas, at Nashville, was attacked by Hood, whose courage only needed some discretion to be perfect. He pushed back Schofield and Stanley, sent out to delay him, but at the cost of a loss nearly twice as great as theirs. After some delay Thomas sallied forth to attack him. He feinted at his right and drove back his left on the 15th of December; the next morning he charged along the whole line, and Hood's army, after a fierce resistance, broke into hopeless flight. Forrest with his cavalry gave some protection to the retreat; but the pursuit was not slackened, and under its effects Hood's entire army disappeared and was never again assembled. Such an event had never before occurred.

Grant's campaign before Richmond, which now began, was a record of slaughter which one is averse from needlessly recapitulating. It was based upon Grant's determination to conquer this last of the Southern armies by exterminating it. The war thus far had showed that whichever of the antagonists was in an intrenched position generally defeated the attacking party, even when superior in numbers. Exceptions there had been, but such was the usual result. Lee had fewer troops than Grant, but in defending Richmond he was uniformly behind fortifications, which long practice had enabled his soldiers to construct in a mar-



Engagement of the "Kearsarge" and "Alabama"

it. 1862,



turn Lee's flank Grant had to go the longer distances; Lee, moving on the inside, and divining or being informed of his intention, was always beforehand, prepared for an assault. At point after point of a great circle round Richmond Grant resolutely pushed against the defense; from the north to the south he moved, and was finally besieging Petersburg. The earlier battles were fought in the Wilderness, which had already been fatal to the Union armies; it was blind fighting, in which death came from unseen sources; the tangled woods dripped with blood and were choked with corpses; they caught fire, and the wounded were roasted to death; the trees were cut down by the flying bullets; scenes were enacted surpassing in sustained horror anything known in war. Staggering from the fearful punishment, but still fighting coolly and fiercely, Lee faced his terrible opponent in these last rounds of the mighty struggle, and did all that man could, and almost more than man could be believed capable of, to destroy him as he was being destroyed. The losses were now numbered by the tens of thousands; human life seemed to have lost its value. Only an invincible soul could have endured to continue, as Grant did, so awful a conflict. "I shall fight it out on this line if it takes all summer," said he; but he fought it out on many lines, and still the heroism of the defenders kept him from his object. The silent power of this man, conscious that the refinements of strategy were here but of small avail, and able to steadily inflict wholesale slaughter on his own men in order to wear down his enemy, is one of the most impressive spectacles ever seen. He had thought it out during the earlier years of the war; he had made up his mind what to do, and now that the time was come, and the men, he unfalteringly did

but the main theme of the campaign was to press Lee back upon Richmond and there annihilate him. It is customary, comparing these two great generals, to give Lee the higher praise as a soldier of military genius; and surely he failed in no particular. But the opportunity for genius was not present; his defense admitted of no latitude of movement or choice; he must parry blows, or evade them, or distract attention by this or that desperate demonstration. So far as strategy was concerned, he had much the easier part to play; it was for Grant to take the initiative; and the things that Grant could do were as well known to Lee as to Grant; the only doubt that could enter his mind was as to which thing Grant would do next. There was nothing surprising, nothing startling or sensational in this stage of the struggle; the two gladiators stood up and struck each other deadly blows, until at last, as was inevitable from the first, the weaker sank to the ground. Perhaps no other man than Lee would have continued the fight so long; sound military judgment must criticise him here, as it would criticise Grant, had not Grant been conscious that he must eventually win. Yet it is hard to condemn a brave man for fighting while he has life to strike a blow, and Lee will perhaps always be regarded as the soldier in the war who made fewest mistakes, and necessarily he will receive the most sympathy.

The first fight in the Wilderness had no decisive result. Grant then passed the right flank of the enemy and marched to Spottsylvania Court House; but Lee had preceded him. Gaining nothing here, Grant repeated his maneuver, but was again anticipated by Lee at Cold Harbor. The Federals were repulsed from the intrenchments with heavy

the ruins. Some three weeks later Grant succeeded in occupying the Weldon railroad, which communicated with the South, by the stratagem of feinting at Richmond from the north; and Lee was unable to recover it. Hunter, the Union general, having retreated into western Virginia, Early dashed up the Shenandoah toward Washington, but was compelled to fall back when within striking distance. He, however, sent his cavalry as far as Chambersburg, which he burned in default of ransom. Sheridan, who had already defeated and killed Stuart, attacked and defeated Early, and drove the wreck of his army up the Shenandoah, which he completely devastated. But Early was re-enforced, and struck Sheridan's army under Wright at Cedar Creek, Sheridan himself being at the moment twenty miles away at Winchester. Admonished by the sound of the guns, Sheridan rode twelve miles, met and rallied his troops, which were retreating, fell upon the enemy while plundering the camp, and utterly defeated them again, and finally destroying the army. So did the valor of one man turn the tide of war, and alter history. Sheridan then, having no other foe to fight, joined Grant before Richmond, and they only awaited the arrival of Sherman to perform the closing act of the great drama. Banks's expedition against Red River and Texas cost him five thousand men, and supplies, and resulted in his retreat to New Orleans, where he was relieved of his command. Meanwhile Tennessee had been laid open to Confederate attack by the withdrawal of Union troops, and Forrest captured Union City, was repelled from Paducah, but was again successful at Fort Pillow, where the garrison, partly negro troops, was killed without quarter. An attempt by Porter in the Re-



In order to oversee and direct the battle, he took his station in the shrouds of his vessel, the "Hartford." He had both wooden and iron-clad ships; but his leading monitor, "Tecumseh," was destroyed by a sunken torpedo. The fleet ran past the forts, receiving and delivering a tremendous cannonade; within the bay were the Confederate ram "Tennessee" and other war vessels. Farragut had rigged false bows of iron on his wooden ships, and they attacked the "Tennessee," trying to sink her both by shot and ramming. The shot could not pierce her armor, except in one point where a shutter of a port had been destroyed; and so accurate was the Federal fire that this small aperture was penetrated by a shell, and Admiral Buchanan was wounded by it. The ram became the center of attention from the whole Federal fleet, and finally surrendered. The forts likewise capitulated; but though the port was thus closed, the city itself, until the war had ended, remained in Confederate hands.

There was still one uncaptured port in the Confederacy—Wilmington, N. C., defended by Fort Fisher. Grant sent Commodore Porter, with a fleet, and General Weitzel, with an army, against it; but General Butler usurped the command over Weitzel, gave the fort a short pounding, decided that it was too strong for him, re-embarked his troops, and went back to Fortress Monroe. Porter, remaining with his ships, asked leave to make another attempt. He forced the garrison behind their bomb-proofs by his fire, ran approaches close to the walls, and with his sailors and marines, and a somewhat larger army than before, under General Terry, made a combined assault on two sides of the fort on the afternoon of January 14, 1865. For resolute hand-to-hand fighting, both the attack and defense equaled anything seen in the war. The sailors were repulsed, but the soldiers forced

mington. Had it not been for cruisers built in England for the Confederacy, to take the place of their destroyed privateers, the South would have been driven from the sea; but these cruisers, manned by English crews, practically ruined Federal commerce. Semmes, in the "Alabama," captured sixty prizes, but was finally challenged and sunk by the Federal "Kearsarge." The impossibility of getting supplies into the South by sea caused great dearth and enormous prices; fifty dollars in paper brought but one in specie; coffee was fifty dollars a pound, and other things in proportion. Even such soldiers as those of the Confederacy cannot fight without food and clothing, though they came as near as possible to doing so. The interior railways had been torn up, and even such food as was obtainable could not be carried to the troops at the front. The men began to desert; yet the leaders would not admit defeat, and braced themselves for the final struggle before Richmond.

Besides Lee's army at Richmond, the only other Confederate force worth considering at the beginning of 1865 was that under Johnston in the south. But against him, Sherman was arrayed; and he left his winter quarters, if such they could be called in that mild climate, in the early part of February, and headed northward; Johnston retiring before his advance. It was the season of rains, and Sherman's march was difficult, preceded as they were by Confederate cavalry, which threw every obstacle in their path; but they were veterans and it was impossible to stop them. When they crossed the boundaries of South Carolina—that state to whose initiative the secession of the southern states was due—they began a system of destruction. No consideration was

a great magazine of powder had been accidentally exploded, and hundreds of the inhabitants were killed and the city was afire. The Union troops helped to put the fire out; but Charleston, ruined by its long resistance, was hardly worth saving. Passing on into North Carolina, Sherman was confronted by an amalgamation of Johnston's army with the troops which had garrisoned the principal towns of the region; but no opposition that could seriously retard him was made. Schofield and Terry joined Sherman at Goldsboro, and this great army of one hundred thousand men was massed along the Neuse, on which Goldsboro stands. It was now possible to consider in what way Sherman should co-operate with Grant in relation to the possible attempt of Lee to escape from Richmond.

Lee's army was by this time, owing to various causes, not more than fifty thousand strong, though three times that number appeared on the rolls. He had against him what might be called a nation in arms, and never so well supplied as now with material and training for war. Lee's only hope was to make a dash through almost impossible obstructions and unite with Johnston; yet, even could he have done this, the ultimate destruction of the Confederate forces would have been none the less inevitable. Had he surrendered then, he would have lost nothing, and would have saved the lives of thousands. But though all else in war was easy to this general, surrender seems to have been almost impossible to him. When a leader's only fault is dauntless courage, he may be forgiven. He would fight to the end.

His first attempt to break out was begun by a fierce attack on Fort Steadman, toward the east; but this was only to mask a real movement in force toward the south. Grant however did not move his left; the fort was carried, but

marched two corps of infantry from his right, behind his own lines, to the extreme left, where they were joined by Sheridan with nine thousand cavalry, and proceeded toward the railway which gave egress in that direction. Sheridan had occupied Dinwiddie Court House, and was about to start on a raid, when, on the 30th of March, Grant apprised him that all was ready for the final blow; but Lee, anticipating Sheridan's attack, took the offensive himself, and fell with all his strength upon Sheridan at Five Forks, directly south of Richmond. Pushed back some distance by the impetuosity of Lee's attack, Sheridan re-formed his troops at Dinwiddie, and the Fifth Corps under Warren got in the Confederate rear. Lee was now merely a fighting fugitive. On the night of April 1st a great bombardment opened on Petersburg, and the whole Union line left its intrenchments on April 2d and swept the enemy before them. The heroic defense of the garrison of Fort Gregg, two hundred and fifty strong, of which only thirty were left, deserves to be remembered. Lee, forced back within his last lines, informed the inhabitants of Richmond that they must surrender. Jefferson Davis fled, and the city became a scene of terror, horror and lawlessness. Lee, meanwhile, with the remains of his faithful troops, set out for Burkeville on the west. Grant instantly pursued him with an overwhelming force. Delayed by the necessity of collecting food for his men, Lee found himself checked by Sheridan at Jetersville. Turning aside, he tried to reach Lynchburg, but Grant had foreseen every contingency, and hemmed him in on the right, the left, and the rear. Davies attacked his wagon train; Custer struck and shattered his retreating column and forced the surrender of six thousand. Lee still pressed on, and

troopers retreated, their movement revealed a solid mass of infantry, in vast numbers, drawn up beyond. The war was over.

Lee and Grant met at Appomattox Court House, and with the simple forms of brave Americans at a supreme moment, drew up and signed the terms of Lee's surrender. "We have fought through the war together; I have done the best I could for you," were the words in which the great Virginian took leave of his troops. It was a war which had cost in killed and wounded nearly a million men; it had destroyed slavery; and it had determined that this country should become one again. The wounds it made took long to heal, but we may confidently believe that they will never again be opened.

Four years had passed from the date of the firing of the first gun against Sumter, when the Confederate army of Virginia laid down its arms. Two days later Johnston surrendered to Sherman. Smith's army on the further side of the Mississippi capitulated a month after. Jefferson Davis was captured in Georgia, while trying to escape in disguise. He had been overestimated in the South, and in the North there were many who demanded his trial and execution for treason; but neither the execution nor even the trial took place, though he was indicted. The country felt, upon second thought, that it would be an unwise and undignified act to punish in such a manner the mistaken ideas of patriotism and duty which had ruined this man. He was not suited for the position to which he had been called. He was too narrow, too rigid, too personally proud and ambitious, to be the leader of the South; he was not truly representative of what was best and noblest in them. He had neither the heroism, the tenderness, the manhood, nor the true dignity of Robert Edward Lee

They had heretofore not been truly adjusted, so that first one and then the other was in excess, and threatened destruction. The war effected this adjustment; for it proved that secession was against the will of the nation, and at the same time showed the dangers of overcentralization. Justly balanced—the states against the State—our system is the strongest and healthiest yet devised; it is elastic, yet it can be neither crushed nor disrupted. It was slavery which led to the effort to disrupt it; that was expunged from our escutcheon by the blood of those who fell on either side, and thus, it may be hoped, the sin which we stood accountant for as a nation was washed away.

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## CHAPTER THIRTY-SIXTH

*PAST AND FUTURE*

ON THE 9th of April, 1865, Lee surrendered; on the 12th, his soldiers stacked their arms and were paroled; meanwhile, Lincoln visited Richmond, and walked about its scarred and smoke-blackened streets; in the afternoon he held a reception in what had been the Confederate executive mansion; on the evening of April 14th he was due to attend a play in Ford's Theater in Washington; he felt ill, and would have stayed at home, but for an unwillingness to disappoint the people, whose joy at the conclusion of the war had sharpened their desire to see and greet the President

Johnson, another man of the people, a tailor by trade, had been chosen Vice-President.

During the heat of battle the South had doubtless hated Lincoln; for he had freed their slaves; and by the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, ratified in December following his death, the corollary of his Emancipation Proclamation was accomplished; it declared slavery forever at an end in all parts of the United States. But the South was magnanimous, as are all brave peoples, and it was capable of realizing that this quaint, uncouth great man was no enemy of theirs, but loved them as a part of the nation he was appointed to govern, and had only opposed them with the whole strength at his command so long as they mistakenly fought against what he knew to be their own ultimate good. Faithful are the wounds of a friend; and the South was on the way to see and confess the friendship of Abraham Lincoln.

For his part, his mind, in these first moments of light after the long darkness, was occupied with plans for the reinstatement of the seceding states in the privileges assured by the Constitution; and the terms of peace offered by Sherman to the army of Johnston may be taken as a sketch in the rough of what Lincoln hoped to confirm by regular legislative process. These terms spoke of recognition of state governments in the South, of restoring to them the franchise and political rights, and of a general amnesty. The terms were sent to Congress for consideration, and had not of course been passed upon on the 14th of April. But Lincoln believed that the way to win back the heart of the South was to be generous to them, and trust to their honor loyally to submit to what the test of a nation's policy would make.

But there was in the South a small and obscure knot of irreconcilables who desired revenge, and who regarded Lincoln as their arch-foe. By what process of reasoning they persuaded themselves that his death could profit the South, we cannot conceive; and it is possible that their governing thought was to inflict sorrow on the people which they had failed to overcome in battle. But it would seem that the most elementary perception of the motives which govern human action should have apprised them that an act of deadly violence against the Chief Magistrate, at a time when the war was done, could result only in hardening the heart of the North against them, and causing the terms granted to them to be more severe than otherwise they would be. Be that as it may, a conspiracy was hatched by the extreme wing of this small group of malcontents, and eight persons were afterward known as having been actively concerned in it. The protagonist of the conspiracy, its boldest and most urgent member, was a hare-brained and dare-devil actor, John Wilkes Booth, representing the narrowest and most fanatical spirit of the South; a young man, handsome, vain, high-flown, and reckless of life. His profession, or rather his conception of it, had inflamed and confirmed the cheap, sensational, histrionic views of mortal obligations which were native to him; and he stood forward as the instrument by whom the chief crime contemplated was to be done. His fellows were to strike down, at the same moment, other distinguished members of the Cabinet, and the Vice-President—for the rumor that Johnson was in any way or degree cognizant of the conspiracy never had foundation, and was on the face of it preposterous. We must suppose that it was hoped thus to paralyze the North and terrify them into yielding the government to him. A more



the plot. Lincoln entered his stage-box at the theatre, which was draped with the American flag, which had been rent, and was now whole again. Several persons were with him. The box was but little elevated above the stage, so that an active man might easily leap thence to the stage without injury. The performance had not been long in progress, when the door of the box was opened, and a young man entered. It is said that he locked the door behind him with his left hand. In his right hand was a revolver. No one knew who he was; and the suddenness of his entrance prevented his being questioned. Probably he might have been mistaken for some person employed in the front of the house, or perhaps for a messenger with dispatches from the State Department. The time was counted by seconds. He took a step forward, leveled his weapon at the back of the unconscious President's head, and sent the bullet through his brain. Then, pushing forward at once to the front of the box, he vaulted over the railing to the stage below. It is said that in so doing the spur on his heel caught in the folds of the flag, causing him to strike the stage in such a way as to snap the bone of the leg above the ankle. The audience had heard the sound of the shot, but for an instant fancied it to be in some way connected with the performance. But the spectacle of a man leaping from the President's box upon the stage was too extraordinary to be accounted for; and when he was seen to throw up the arm which held the weapon, and to exclaim "*Sic semper Tyrannis*," immediately passing across the stage and out by the rear, the theater was in an uproar.

The shot had stricken Lincoln senseless, and his body

eral Grant, were not approached. Booth had been the only one whose success was complete.

Had this assassination been perpetrated in 1863, when the South was winning victories, and when many in the North thought the cause of the Union was lost, it might have had a profound effect upon the complexion of affairs. But now it could have no effect, except to curdle the milk of human kindness which was beginning to flow in the breast of the North for their conquered brethren. At first it was surmised that the crime might have been conceived in high quarters; but a little reflection showed that it was impossible that Southern gentlemen could have lent themselves to an act so dastardly. Booth was pursued and shot in a barn where he had taken refuge, which had been set on fire; no man of the attacking party having the courage to go up and take him prisoner. A story was told to the effect that the man thus killed was not Booth; that the latter had made good his escape, and died many years later in the West Indies. Such legends are apt to spring up in the surroundings of a great crime; they amuse the popular imagination; but they never sustain the test of serious examination. The other conspirators were arrested and executed, Mrs. Surratt, at whose house the conspirators met, included. But beyond this, no attempt at retaliation was made by the North. Jefferson Davis, after his arrest, was imprisoned for a couple of years in Fortress Monroe, and then unconditionally released. Meanwhile the era of Reconstruction had begun and Johnson and Congress were at odds upon the questions involved. It was now that the harmonizing influence of Lincoln was missed, and the South was brought to a prac-

men who had made history, the preservers of the Union, the citizens who had taken up arms and transformed themselves into the best soldiers in the world, who were now to lay down their arms and be reabsorbed at once into the body of the population from which they had come forth. Both to the eye, and to the mind and heart, it was a spectacle of unexampled grandeur and impressiveness. These men could have marched, as they were, to the conquest of the world; but their thoughts were not of ambition, or of the seizure of power, but of home, and of the quiet and industrious productive life which is proper to the citizens of a republic. Yet a profound difference had been wrought in them by the war, and in the main it was a beneficial one; their military discipline had taught them the meaning and uses of discipline and the sway of just authority in the life of peace: a lesson of peculiar value to a great democracy, whose foible it is to lapse into loose ways of action and thought. It had taught them the worth of patriotism, and steadfast courage in meeting the stress of battle in the matters of daily routine, which are often not less trying than is the shock of arms in open war. By revealing to them their own strength, it rendered them gentle and charitable, and less sensitive to the criticism of others. Incidentally, it had given them an acquaintance with their own country which might otherwise have been postponed for generations; and a sympathy with and respect for the men against whom they fought, which might else perhaps never have been attained at all.

So far all was well; but the politicians who had remained at home now once more became prominent, and sowed the seeds of legislative trouble. Johnson's theory was that the

they adopted a stricter view of the situation, and disallowed some of the President's acts. Strife ensued between the executive and legislative branches; Johnson vetoed the bills of Congress, and the latter, having a two-thirds Republican majority, passed the bills over his veto. The law of appointments to and dismissal from office was a bone of contention, and the quarrel came to a head over Johnson's dismissal from the office of Secretary of War of Stanton, who had acted efficiently under Lincoln, but whose brutality on several occasions had raised him up many enemies. In the stress of emotion and anxiety caused by the fortunes and doubts of the war, much should be forgiven to men of honest purpose and sterling patriotism, like Stanton, who temporarily lost temper and judgment, and so committed acts of injustice. The determination of Congress to continue him in office in spite of the President, led to an attempt to impeach the latter, in which much time and breath were wasted, and no good result whatever attained; for neither was the motion successful, nor was the conduct of public business promoted; on the contrary, feelings of mutual enmity were aroused which were injurious to all concerned, and most of all to the public, which had elected these men to attend to the affairs of the nation. The Reconstruction measure which Congress carried over the veto was to the effect that the states had in fact seceded and were unassimilated as yet to the Union, and could become so only through act of Congress. Citizenship was given to negroes by a Fourteenth Amendment, and representation was reduced according to the number of citizens admitted to citizenship. No person who had violated his oath by joining in the act of secession should be allowed

assumed party services had been let loose on the Southern states. Hard feeling and disturbances ensued, as might have been expected; and the military governors who ruled the seceded states by martial law did not throw oil upon the troubled waters. Johnson's policy was the wiser of the two, though it also might have been wiser. In matters of this kind, action should not be taken according to the strict dictation of logic. It was bootless to ask whether or not the states had seceded; the thing to do was to trust so far as possible to their common-sense and good faith, and to remove instead of placing obstacles in the way of bringing a proud people once more into the fold from which they had broken forth. Military laws and alien interlopers should not have been permitted; Americans should not have to be told that, for any community not actually barbarous, home-rule is the only rule admissible. Disturbances might of course have occurred under such liberal terms, but they would have been discountenanced by the weight of public opinion, and could readily have been checked by more stringent means if necessary. As it was, the states subscribed to the new regulations slowly and reluctantly, and the acerbities of the war were kept alive. The Republican Party, which had gloriously brought the country through the war, here began already to abuse its power; and though its predominance was to be prolonged for many years, and was still to be productive of much good, its decline had commenced, and from some of its mistakes we are still inconvenienced. But the Republican Party was, for the present, a Hobson's choice for the people; they could not again trust the Democrats, who had become in a measure identified with the principle of disloyalty. Centralization was a natural tendency, after the experience of the perils incident

Maximilian incident in Mexico. Napoleon III., aiming at foreign empire, had long been plotting to get hold of Mexico; and our Civil War gave him the opportunity he desired to set at naught the warning of our Monroe Doctrine. Persuading the English and the Spanish to act with him, he made with them an effort to collect damages for injuries sustained or alleged in the past; and to induce the anarchical populace to accept a permanent ruler. Spain and England soon retired from the combination, perceiving its true objects; and Napoleon then sent an armed expedition to Mexico City, which forced the Mexicans to accept a king in the person of Archduke Maximilian of Austria—who, for his part, agreed to ascend the throne upon the assurance (falsely given by France) that the entire Mexican people desired him to do so. That the popular desire had been for a republic he was not long in discovering; but with Austrian obstinacy, he would not recede; and a long course of intestine trouble might have been the result, had not the ending of our war admonished France that her support of the king must cease. Lacking Napoleon's support, Maximilian was unable to make head against the leader of the republican element, Juarez; he was court-martialed and shot. Except in Brazil and Canada, there were now no traces of empires in the western hemisphere; and the former was soon to throw off her royal yoke, though it had been an easy one.

In 1866 Cyrus W. Field, after twelve years' labor and three experiments, accomplished the laying of the Atlantic cable by means of the steamship "Great Eastern"; it was one of the renowned victories of peace. Not less important in another way was the purchase from Russia, for about

titution of a large part of the South; the public debt, which had risen to over two and a half billion dollars during 1865, underwent a steady reduction from this time forth, beginning with a sum of over seventy millions in the very first year of peace. The revenue from duties, taxes and stamps, at the same period, was more than three hundred and twenty million dollars.

When the national conventions assembled, that of the Republicans unanimously voted for Grant as the next President; the Democrats nominated Horatio Seymour, who was defeated at the polls by one hundred and forty electoral votes, but only by about three hundred thousand votes cast by the people. Grant was the third soldier to assume the office of Executive since Washington; and though he had not the political ability of Jackson, nor even, it may be, of Taylor, he was so strong, straightforward and firm that his administrations were a success. The chief industrial feature of his first administration was the completion of the Atlantic-Pacific railway, which gave an immense momentum to the prosperity of the country; and its chief disaster was the great fires, which almost destroyed Chicago, laid a large part of Boston in ruins, and devastated Wisconsin, Minnesota and Michigan. Threat of war with England was averted by the payment by her of damages for injuries to commerce sustained from the cruiser "Alabama," built and manned by England; and by the rectification of the northwest boundary in our favor; both being the result of arbitration. Grant was in favor of accepting the tender of annexation made by the Republic of San Domingo; but Congress rejected it, whether or not wisely is still matter of dispute.

difficulty with the Sioux occurred in 1876, and was marked by the death of Custer and his men, who attacked an Indian village with inferior numbers, and were surrounded and killed before re-enforcements could arrive. The first Centennial Exhibition was given at Philadelphia in 1876, three years after the disastrous panic caused by the failure of the bankers, Jay Cooke & Co., who had dabbled overmuch in railway stocks. The American people are fond of anniversaries, and uniformly observe them with heartiness and elaboration. The centennial of the Republic was a specially glorified Fourth of July, and it was delightful to the patriotic American to compare what we were in 1876 with what we had been a hundred years before. The material progress was certainly surprising; but it might have been edifying to inquire how far we rose above the moral and self-abnegating virtues which had characterized us in Washington's time. The behavior of a people varies with its conditions of life; but prosperity, sudden and excessive, is of all conditions the most hostile to the development of civic integrity and faithfulness. Looking upon our increase in population, power and wealth, we were easily forgetful of the principles which had laid the foundation for such an unprecedented advance, and we tended to give undue credit to that kind of ability which wins material success and accumulates money. That the true greatness of a country does not lie in this direction has of late been recognized by a part of our people, and it may be expected that a change in the object of our energies may gradually be made.

Grant went out of office with the affection and respect of his countrymen, which his services both in the field and his retirement.



he said or did during his journey failed to confirm the good repute which had preceded him. His simplicity and his greatness were at all times and in all places equally apparent, and greatly elevated the foreign estimate of his country. The mind dwells upon every act of his career, public and private, with satisfaction; and a few years before his death he made the unusual reply to a question on the subject, that had he his life to live over again, he would choose to live it as before. His last years were saddened by a financial misfortune, for which he was not to blame; and they were ennobled by the constancy with which, while dying from a painful disease, he continued to write his "Memoirs," in order to secure for his family support after his death. He lived just long enough to finish the book, the sale of which justified his hopes. It is an important contribution to the history of the war; and the modesty of its tone, and the strength and simplicity of its style, recall and reflect the qualities of the man who wrote it.

Besides the Democrats and the Republicans, there was a third party in the Presidential contest for 1876—the Greenback Party, whose platform called for the issue of greenbacks based on the credit of the country, with which bonds should be bought up. Peter Cooper, a venerable and rustic old gentleman, of great wealth and philanthropic disposition, was nominated by this party; Samuel Tilden was the Democratic choice; and the Republicans put up Rutherford B. Hayes, a person of correct private life and limited caliber, who had been a respectable volunteer officer in the war, but who was destitute of any personal qualifications or deserts for the office. The processes of the election were unusually

returns. It was made up of fifteen members, appointed in consequence of the recommendation of a Congressional committee:—five Senators, five Representatives, and five associate justices of the Supreme Court. The commission decided each case brought before it in favor of the Republicans, by a constant vote of eight against seven, and Hayes was accordingly declared President. Preparations were secretly made to suppress with an iron hand the revolt that was apprehended; but the Democrats, though convinced that the election had been stolen, acquiesced with admirable loyalty, and Mr. Hayes assumed his functions.

His colorless administration, streaked with pallid efforts at "reform," requires little notice. Evarts, a distinguished New York lawyer, was his Secretary of State, and Carl Schurz was his Secretary of the Interior. Hayes withdrew from South Carolina and Louisiana the United States troops which had been sent there by Grant to maintain order; and those states in consequence came at once under the normal Democratic control. In 1877 the industrial situation was threatened by large and violent strikes and riots at Pittsburgh, Chicago, Reading and Baltimore; property was burned and destroyed, the troops were called out, and many persons were killed; the strikers gained nothing. There was a severe yellow fever epidemic in the South. Hayes in vain vetoed the Bland Silver Bill which authorized the coining of a 412½-grain silver dollar at the rate of between two and four million dollars annually, and made it legal tender; and recommended, but without result, the fixing of a ratio between gold and silver by international agreement. The sum of five and a half million dollars was awarded by

millions. The most curious minor incident of Hayes's administration was the crusade against wines and liquor undertaken by Mrs. Hayes; the only result being that, by her orders, wine was not served at White House dinners. Mrs. Hayes was the wife of a public servant to whom had been temporarily intrusted the stewardship of government property; and her conduct illustrates her conception of her rights in the premises.

Parties were still further multiplied in the canvass of 1880; the Prohibitionists and the Anti-Masonic parties being added to the former three. General Grant also stood for a third term. Garfield and Arthur were the regular Republican nominees; General Hancock was selected by the Democrats; General Weaver by the Greenbackers; Neal Dow by the Prohibitionists, and John W. Phelps by the Anti-Masons. Here were five generals against two civilians. Arthur, however, was but a quarter-master-general; and Garfield can hardly be said to have reached mediocrity as a volunteer general. But he was a clever politician, and a useful man to his party. He was successful over Hancock by a moderate margin; Neal Dow had some ten thousand supporters in the United States, and the Greenbackers could muster but three hundred thousand.

Garfield's Secretary of State was James G. Blaine. The Republican Party was divided into two hostile camps at this time; the dispute between them being as to who should control the division of the spoils. Roscoe Conkling, the leader of the "half-breeds," as the opponents of the "stalwart" administration were called, resigned his seat in the Senate

his death, Arthur succeeded him. Garfield had been a poor farmer's boy; had married a farmer's daughter, and owed such education as he had to his own efforts. Arthur was a rich man, and an "exquisite," a genial fine gentleman of popular manners. Only two matters of importance are associated with his administration: the Chinese exclusion bill, and the tariff reform bill. The former was passed, with many dissentients; the latter is still a bone of contention between parties; and the attempts which have been made to solve the problem which it involves have cost us much money and more ill-feeling. Statesmanship, politics and finance become fixed in an inextricable snarl, and the multitude of advisers do but darken counsel. Upon the whole, fortune was kind to Arthur in giving him nothing of moment to do; and he retired from office with the commendation and good will of all.

In the ensuing election the frivolity of the time was shown in the still further increase of so-called parties; not to mention others, there was the woman's rights party with Belva A. Lockwood for President and Mrs. Dr. Lozier for Vice-President. The Democrats were represented by Grover Cleveland and T. A. Hendricks, the Republicans by James G. Blaine and John A. Logan. Cleveland and Hendricks were elected. Cleveland was another poor boy; but he had early got into politics; he had sent a substitute to the war, and applied himself to making a political career. He rose through various civic grades till he was elected governor of New York by a majority unusually large, which put him in the presidential race. He was bold and firm, and honest as politicians go; confident in the soundness of his own views, and apt to be independent in his attitude. He caught the fancy of his countrymen, and was in many ways a favorite of fortune. He had an advantage in being the first Democratic

were no foreign complications, except the chronic petty squabbles with England about the fisheries, which led, this term, to the dismissal of Lord Sackville, the British minister to Washington, on account of a foolish letter he had been betrayed into writing on the subject. The Indians, on whose behalf much pretentious legislation, with a view to their education, had been passed or mooted, gave trouble again after a period of quiet, owing to invasion of their rights in Oklahoma. Senator Blair got a bill through Congress forbidding the importation of aliens under contract to perform labor in this country; upon which a notoriety-loving member of the St. Andrew's Society brought an action to restrain the sermons of an English clergyman who had been asked to officiate in an American friend's pulpit during the latter's absence. A New England Senator, anxious to be doing something for his constituents, conceived the idea of a presidential succession bill, which specified the order in which the office should pass from one Secretary to another, in the event of their all dying one after the other. Some tinkering was done with army and navy bills, with no results perceptible outside of Washington. Against any improvement or strengthening of our army or navy the threadbare and thrifty argument was used that we were at war with nobody, meant to attack none, and would be attacked by nobody; therefore, why should we accumulate means of offense and defense? They cost money, and could be of no use. It was a policy of shopkeepers, humanitarians, Trusts and bankers; people who form a not inconsiderable class of the community, and whose operations give them exaggerated prominence, but who in no degree represent the spirit of the nation. The nation, however, attending, each individual of it, to his own affairs, takes little note of proceedings in Washington, unless what occurs there happens to touch the popular imagination.

unusual baseness takes place, making the people growl menacingly for a while, and sending the offenders scuttling to cover. But soon the many-headed monster turns to its affairs again, and the noxious creatures creep out once more. In general, little vital mischief is done; the country is strong enough to support vast quantities of parasites without feeling a drain. But the money annually paid out by Uncle Sam to persons who, to put it in the most delicate way, have done nothing honestly entitling them to it, would maintain an army and navy as large and efficient as those of any European power, and would place a belt of steel round our entire coasts. It is vain to suppose that other nations will respect us because we are big and rich, if we turn out to be, at the same time, strengthless and pusillanimous. On the contrary they will regard us as a goose to be fattened, and, at the proper time, to be killed and eaten. An object lesson of the fate of a great nation which has no civic unity and power of co-operation, is afforded by the recent history of China. With a population of hundreds of millions, and immense resources of treasure, this nation was defeated in war by a few thousand foreign soldiers and sailors. The nation had become, during centuries, self-centered; the mass of the people, overawed by combinations of the rich and ambitious, had lost all sense of nationality and patriotism, and were sunk into a kind of industrious barbarism, each atom working for itself or for its immediate master. At last there was no longer a nation, but only countless hordes of disconnected individuals, more or less in subjection to arbitrary tyrants. It would be inaccurate to say that China went to war with Japan, or was beaten by her. A minute fraction of the Chinese inhabitants of the country were ever aware that any war had taken place. But we no longer are and are helpless to repel aggression, and we no longer have the power to defend ourselves.

was exclusiveness which brought China to this pass; it was selfishness, in the whole and in all its parts; the policy of each one for himself, with its inevitable corollaries of gradual subordination of the many to the few, the spread of ignorance, and disintegration. If the industrial affairs of America should continue to be managed by trusts, insensibly increasing in strength and independence; if its financial interests are left to combinations of bankers; if its government is abandoned to politicians; the fate of China must ultimately be ours. Like causes produce like results in the end, though that end may seem so distant as to be non-existent. —But, in truth, the conditions which have suggested such a peril are transient, and do but warn us to keep to our duty.

Civil Service Reform, and the Tariff, were the chief objects of attention during Cleveland's term. Some steps were taken toward making tenure of civil office dependent upon fitness for it, instead of upon party services; and there was a show of competitive examinations, and assurances that there should be no removals except for cause, one of which was specified as "pernicious activity." But the broad principle first enunciated by William Marcy and enforced by Andrew Jackson, that to the victors belong the spoils, still holds practical sway in our government; with the consequence that a large part of the President's time is occupied in the mere clerk's drudgery of removing and appointing incumbents of consulships, post-offices, and the like petty offices. The men who apply for these posts are usually, of course, men who have failed to make a living by ordinary trades or professions, and who, knowing that their tenure is limited to four years, try to make as much as possible out of their brief opportunities, and give small thought to the welfare of the interests confided to them. But were office-holders to be kept in their positions year after year and term

port of subordinates, and money extorted from them under various pretexts, most of which goes into the pockets of their superiors. Our government is a government of the people by and for the people; and until the majority of our people shows itself explicitly and persistently opposed to this rotation system, it will continue. Public spirit, civic virtue, not sporadic and spasmodic, but general and continuous, are needed. The American people is capable of them, when poignant need arises; but they do not as yet show themselves willing to take time and attention from private affairs, year after year and decade after decade, in order to enforce measures and principles which all admit to be right. It is only after public abuses have begun obviously to interfere with the prosperity of private business, that we can expect a genuine movement of reform. The supporters of corruption fight hard, because they fight for life; their opponents are at the disadvantage of fighting them against their own personal convenience and inclination. Corruption has a strong and highly organized system, patiently fortified against every attack, prepared to bow before a passing storm, and to rise again after it has passed, often seeming to enlist under its opponents' banner, in order the more thoroughly to defeat and discredit them. The considerable body of political reformers and independents known in our nickname language as Mugwumps, has numbered in its ranks many men of sterling character and ability; but they have not won hearty popular sympathy. They seem, as a whole, to have been lacking in sympathy with average human nature, in political sagacity, and in knowledge of the world; they have put forward excellent moral propositions, and have been perplexed at their own failure. But in order to win the confidence of the average American, who is slightly cynical and



the part of the community to achieve better conditions; but the magnetic word that shall unite all in accomplishing such conditions has not yet been spoken; the leader whom all cannot choose but follow has not yet arisen. We recognize that the political and industrial bosses are men who do what the average citizen might do if he had the chance and the ability; and therefore there is a half-heartedness about our condemnation of them. Mere ability, the faculty of managing, receives great admiration in this country, without too much regard to the methods by which results are attained. This is but natural in a republic where every man must fight for himself or go down. The boss relieves the average citizen of a great deal of trouble, and thereby sets him free to look after his personal interests. The trusts crush the small dealers, but they are a convenience for the consumer, and the increased price which the latter may be obliged to pay is set off against the facility of making purchases. Wage earners are wronged, but low wages cheapen products. Many doctors of political economy have arisen, with medicines for the cure of these ills; but it will probably be necessary for us to wait for experience to prove to us that the welfare of each depends in the long run on the welfare of the whole, and to live accordingly.

The tariff developed the existence of two opposite opinions in the country, one holding that foreign goods should be taxed in order to protect the manufacturers of the same lines of goods here; the other, that such protection is really of little help to the manufacturer, while it injures the consumer. Free trade and protection are irreconcilable enemies, and their quarrel, too, must be settled by experience. Under Cleveland, Roger Q. Mills introduced a bill favoring free trade, which passed the House but was halted in the Senate. Cleveland's first administration had about it a good

he was a man who learned as he went along. There was a massiveness about him which was comforting. Nor, as an element in his popularity, should we neglect to notice his marriage to a beautiful and intelligent woman. Sentiment catches many votes in this hard-headed people.

In 1888, the two chief candidates were Cleveland and Benjamin Harrison, the grandson of the former President Harrison, of Tippecanoe. Benjamin Harrison was in every way a worthy gentleman, who had always done work given him to do with faithfulness and energy, and who continued that practice in the White House. He had been a good soldier in the war, liked by his men and attentive to their welfare and discipline; and his commands to them in battle uniformly began with "Come"—not "Go." He was a lawyer by profession, and had served in the Senate; his opinions, as drawn out during the canvass, were such as might be expected from a man of integrity and respectability, who was a Republican. He favored Civil Service reform, but turned out and put in as many civil servants as had any of his predecessors. He appointed Corporal Tanner Commissioner of Pensions. The pension payments had risen from thirty-four millions in 1884 to nearly fifty-three millions in 1887; and within a few months Tanner had raised this sum to over eighty millions, and was still going on. The national surplus was being wiped out, and Tanner was compelled by public opinion to resign. By the agency of Blaine, the Secretary of State, negotiations were opened looking to reciprocity with South American states—import duties to be mutually lowered or abolished. The revenue of the country, internal and customs, was larger than ever before. Idaho and Wyoming were admitted as states. William McKinley introduced a tariff bill, raising some duties and lowering others; it was relied upon by the Republicans to confirm

at the polls for the next Presidential election. The continued free coinage of silver was beginning to unsettle financial matters, and much opposition to it was developed. An international copyright bill was passed, giving, under certain restrictions, American ownership of their work to authors foreign to America, and conferring similar privileges on our authors in foreign countries. In 1891, the Italian secret assassination society, called the Mafia, murdered a police officer in New Orleans; the culprits were tried and acquitted; but the mob broke open the jail and killed them. The Italian minister at Washington protested, and our government paid twenty-five thousand dollars damages. The following year, members of the crew of the American man-of-war "Baltimore" were killed or hurt in a popular emeute in Valparaiso, Chile; and at first the Chile government made unsatisfactory replies to our demands for satisfaction; but subsequently apologized, and paid seventy-five thousand dollars indemnity.—Such are the ripples that varied the general calm of Harrison's administration.

After a tame campaign, in which the party differences concerned chiefly protection, and Federal supervision of elections, which Republicans favored and Democrats opposed, Grover Cleveland, renominated by the Democrats, was successful against Harrison. Cleveland returned to power to the sound of the guns which celebrated the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America. Business depression and financial troubles were great and numerous; but in the meanwhile the preparations for the Columbian Exposition, held in Chicago to commemorate Columbus's discovery, and to illustrate the industrial condition of the world, were actively making. The exhibition was held during six months,

being displayed, the condition of the country, owing to artificial causes, became worse. One of the President's first acts was to recall from the Senate the Hawaiian annexation bill. The Wilson bill, reducing tariff on imports, was passed, though strongly opposed; but such was the agitation in the country, traceable to no well-ascertained cause, that failures became constant. No one was sure what was the matter; but the people, in these cases, are apt to lay the blame on the existing administration, though often the latter may be wholly innocent, and but suffers from the evil legacy of its predecessor. The Democratic majority in Congress was reversed. The tariff did not pay the expenses of government, and the income tax, which had been much disliked, was finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court. The discussion of financial problems at this period was unprecedented, but little light was thrown upon them. The repeal of the Sherman silver bill was demanded, and it began to be evident that the next election would turn on financial questions; the Republicans demanding the adoption of a gold standard, in harmony with Europe, and the Democrats, led by their nominee, William Jennings Bryan, urging the free and unlimited coinage of silver and the establishment of a ratio between silver and gold of sixteen to one. Meanwhile there was another threat of war with England; not, this time, on account of cod fisheries or seal fisheries; but because England refused to accept our proposal to arbitrate her dispute with Venezuela as to the true boundary between that country and British Guiana. Solicitude for our Monroe Doctrine urged us to take a hand in the matter; and Cleveland sent a message to Congress recommending an *ex parte* commission to inquire into the merits of the case. This

attention at this time, though its ultimate consequences were not foreseen; attempts to secure recognition of a Cuban Republic by this country failed. There had been a previous, unsuccessful rebellion twenty years before; and it was evident that the conditions in the island were become intolerable.

The campaign of 1896 was in some respects remarkable. Bryan was a very young man for a presidential aspirant; he was gifted with eloquence, and he had the utmost sincerity of conviction that the principles he enunciated were true, and would pull the country out of its financial hole. More money was wanted, so that the poor might be enabled to live; he believed that by coining silver freely, its value as one-sixteenth that of gold might be maintained; he thought other countries would follow our lead in fixing this ratio, and meanwhile he declared that America did not have to go to Europe to find out what was good for her. These opinions, cogently expressed during a tour which covered almost every state in the Union, took great hold upon the minds of the poorer classes, and enlisted also the support of many who were not poor; and vast multitudes in the middle and western states, and in some parts of the south, came together to listen to Bryan, and seemed to regard him as a sort of savior divinely appointed to rescue them from their troubles. The Republicans rallied the support of the wealthy and conservative element, the men of property and vested interests, the bankers and trust proprietors, and the employers in general of labor. The campaign was as bitter as the previous one had been apathetic; and the result was in doubt till the last. Then it appeared that McKinley, the Republican candidate, was elected by a small majority, so far as the popular vote was concerned.

The country now looked forward with anticipation to an

agine that effects in national affairs follow causes more quickly than they used to do. But erroneous methods, or partial solutions of economic problems, are not followed by good results any more than they formerly were, nor are the processes of evolution to be hurried because we are breathless and impatient. The people that does not know its true way does not get forward, no matter what its strength and activity. Our attention has been turned of late years almost exclusively to the expedition of business, and we are able, individually, to conduct our business with as much promptitude and efficiency as the conditions allow. But there are great secrets in the chemistry of finance, labor and government which have not yet been guessed; hitherto we have got on well enough without fully guessing them; but now the adjustments of life are finer than they were, we are confronted by hitherto untried situations, and we are consequently arrested in a fog of perplexities and wanton experiments. This nation has come to the end of one period of its growth, and is arrived at the threshold of another. Fifty or a hundred years from now we shall be able to look back and understand the position we occupy at this moment; and we shall probably see, then, that not one new thing, but many, awaited us. The next century may be expected to be not only different, but very different from the last.

To speak in the broadest terms, what is needed seems to be more of the spiritual quality in our affairs. There was a spirit dominating us in the Seventeenth Century, which drove us hither and anchored us in the wilderness; there was a spirit in 1776 which defended against oppression what we had won; and there was a spirit in 1861 which labored fiercely

spirit within it. It is a vast, inorganic mass, which only seeks to grow bigger, instead of taking on intelligent form and proportions, and discovering its own meaning and its right to be. It is engendered of ambition and competition; it aims at possession and enjoyment of life—the good things of life: and this is no aim at all, nor can it ever be so; the real good of life comes only while we seek better things and, finding us with our eyes and hearts set elsewhere, suddenly is revealed humbly moving at our side. The utmost that commerce, agriculture, finance, government, science can give us, is in itself not worth stooping to pick up; the garment without the body is nothing, the body without the soul is nothing, the soul without immortality is nothing. We must learn the ultimate use and value of this vast accumulation of things which we are gathering together, like slaves, imagining ourselves masters of the world when we are its helpless drudges and lackeys. We must develop a soul to animate withal this huge corporeal mass of impedimenta, of conveniences, luxuries, curiosities, redundancies. We must lift it and organize it and rationalize it out of its present abject and selfish sprawl, and cause it to occupy its proper office and place in our human economy. Much of it will then disappear as worthless or obstructive; much more will be regarded as incidental merely to the attainment of better things. Material prosperity will become an instrument of life, not its object. As we value it less, it will become less irregular, more evenly distributed; not congested arbitrarily here and there, with spaces of want and misery between, but spread over the surface of the community like a comely skin or fitting garment. Our present careers are prone to insanities, collisions and the cruelties of neglect and preoccupation; we need to consult each the interest of his neighbor, as of his larger and completer self,

indifferent to us, and then we shall look down upon them and understand them.

How shall this elevation be accomplished?—Not, if the testimony of history be valid, by spinning theories or enunciating moralities, however lofty and ingenious. Not by our own ambition or initiative; but by an inward inspiration from the Creator, to which it shall behoove us to give heed. Work will be given us to do; and according as we respond to the stimulus and duty, will our future be. The faithful and zealous prosecution of that work, be it what it may, will open to us the larger and purer horizons for which we ignorantly languish. America has performed the first task laid upon her—she has wrought herself into a great nation. Another task awaits her: what is it?—None can tell; but we may surmise that it may be, to bear our part, a leading one, in doing by others as we have done by ourselves. To make an America of the world would be a worthy work, and one which would collect our energies from their present waste and dispersion, and apply them to the grandest issues. Did God collect this people here, in order that they might live to themselves alone, and leave their fellow creatures to welter in darkness? Beware of that fatal policy of seclusion! There are many plausible and soothing arguments in its favor, but there is nothing Christian or immortal in it. What we have, in measure as it is good, becomes not ours exclusively, but somewhat held in stewardship for the race. If we try to monopolize it, it will breed in us fever and corruption; if we dispense it, it will be a blessing universal. Let us not forget that our forefathers said: "We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Were these words meant to apply only



for ourselves, is it not incumbent upon us to seek in all ways open to us to secure them for others? Nor need we go out of our way to find opportunities; they will be offered to us. There is oppression and suffering on all sides of us, from where the sun rises to where it sets. Only let us not stop our ears to its voice, nor avert our eyes from the spectacle of its misery. Let us rather stop our ears to those who tell us it is none of our business, and avert our eyes from those who would unroll before us alluring pictures of ease and luxury kept within the boundaries of this mighty land, which God gave us in trust, therein to raise a race of men whose destiny it shall be to give freedom, light and happiness to the world.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-SEVENTH

### *THE WAR WITH SPAIN*

**T**HE true story of Cuba has yet to be written in its inner details; one does not envy the historian his task. It is a monotonous tale of baseness, robbery, and inhumanity. First, and promptly, the native population was exterminated; then a new race began to exist, compounded of Spaniards and negroes, with an admixture of other strains in minor degrees. This race, in the course of some centuries, begot characteristics of its own; but it was always oppressed by the Spanish governing class sent over from the Peninsula. Individual industry and enterprise were discouraged or paralyzed, because the governors from Spain left the native producers barely enough for the needs of existence. Cuba, potentially rich as any region of equal extent in the world, and richer by far than all save a few, has never yielded a hundredth part of the returns which could have been realized by an enlightened administration. Nevertheless, she and the other island colonies of Spain, east and west, have been of vital use to her in arresting the downward course which she has so long been pursuing.

The Cubans endured much; but at length even their limits were overpassed, and they rebelled. The consequence was a long-drawn-out and inconclusive struggle of ten years, exhausting to both parties. It ended in a compromise by which

more virulent than ever. The United States was restive under this chronic sore, festering close under her eyes; and during the past half century various schemes and suggestions had been mooted having in view the taking or purchasing Cuba from Spain. But the feeling was strong in this country against saddling ourselves with a possession which, though rich, was encumbered by many objectionable features; and Spain herself evinced the strongest disinclination to relinquishing the victim whose blood she had sucked so long. The rebellion ended in 1878. Several American agencies were operating in the island, and drawing large profits from their investments; and there were not a few American holders of Spanish securities guaranteed by Cuban duties. These persons were naturally content that Spain should retain control of Cuba, since, in the event of the island's being taken from her, the value of their securities would be extinguished. Great European financiers, like the Rothschilds, were interested in Spanish supremacy for the same reason; and they, assisting our banking and capitalistic class with loans and accommodations for their enterprises, were able to exert great influence upon the attitude of the latter; so that it was certain that war with Spain would always find resolute opponents in our moneyed men.

Finally, Austria and France were both anxious to protect Spain; France because she was a large holder of Spanish 4's, and Austria because the Queen Regent of Spain was a member of the Austrian Royal House.

When, for the second time, the Cubans broke out in revolt, there was heard a voice in this country, speaking from every part of it, demanding that the iniquity of Spanish misrule cease, and insisting that we bring about its cessation, peaceably if we could, forcibly if we must. This voice had nothing to say about the acquisition of Cuba by the United States;

So long as this voice was not official, Spain paid no heed to it. But Spain was again failing to put down the rebellion, which, instead of being confined, as in the former one, to the eastern part of the island, had spread to the west, and left to the Spaniards only those towns in which Spanish soldiers were stationed. Immense numbers of soldiers—two hundred thousand, if accounts are to be credited—had been sent to Cuba; but they did no fighting worthy of the name, and were not intended to do any; they were mainly to serve as a means for the enrichment of their officers, who appropriated all the money sent out to pay them, or otherwise available for that purpose, except just so much as might serve to keep the soldiers alive. It was the policy of the Spanish officials not to fight the war out, but to prolong it; and gradually to exterminate the Cuban population. The Captain-general first in command, Martinez Campos, was recalled after a year of unsuccess, and in his place was installed General Weyler, the catalogue of whose crimes and bestialities perhaps surpasses that of any other living being, and who has never been outdone even by his own countrymen in the past. We need not detail Weyler's crimes; they were given full rein during his lease of power; he was the idol and model of his followers, and he and they became rich to the extent of many millions by the theft of money not only from the Cubans, but by embezzlement of the sums sent from Spain for the prosecution of the war. From first to last, no one has been found to relate of this monster one single redeeming trait.

With a view to hastening the extermination of the Cuban race, Weyler conceived and put in execution an idea which could occur only to one whose thoughts found their inspiration in the source of all evil. It was on the 21<sup>st</sup> of July

expiration of this period is found in the uninhabited parts will be considered a rebel and tried as such."

There were then living in the regions neighboring to the towns in question persons whose number has been variously estimated at from four hundred to six hundred thousand. Most of them were women and children. They were of all social grades, from the peasant to the independent proprietor. Weyler's order caused them to abandon their homes and crowd into a barren space around the towns, where they must remain without other shelter than what they could erect with their own hands, without furniture or any of the appurtenances of civilization, without food, or any means of obtaining any save by beggary. Beggary from the soldiers of Weyler was not a lucrative occupation. Such of the women or virgins as had the ill-fortune to be passably good-looking were subjected to the lust of the soldiery in the open camp. The homes which these people had been compelled to leave were destroyed by the Spanish guerrillas and the lands laid waste. If any inhabitants were found still hiding in the outer country, which was constantly scoured by the guerrillas, they were hacked to death with the machete, shot, or subjected to lingering tortures. Many were murdered for amusement even while obeying the reconcentration order. But the great majority were permitted slowly to starve to death on the bare ground outside the towns. The process lasted days or weeks according to circumstances, and was attended with every circumstance of insult and mental anguish. They perished in heaps and rows, and their bones—for flesh there was little or none left—were tossed into pits, or left to be devoured by vultures. Half a million reconcentrados had been removed in this manner at the time that war was declared between Spain and the United States; and there can be no doubt that the remainder long since ceased to exist. The

seemed likely to continue unchecked, within six hours of the highest and most humane civilization of the world. Why was the effort made to keep our people in ignorance of the truth, and to delay action? Because, should the facts appear, the holders of Spanish securities in this country, and their friends abroad, would lose their money. This fact should not be forgotten by Americans, when the time shall come to bring before the court of public opinion, for reward or punishment, the persons and parties by whom the war with Spain was advocated or opposed. It is also historically significant as showing the extent and weight of the influence which money is able to exert, for a time, upon the conduct of this Republic.

When McKinley was elected President, the platform on which he stood referred to the existing war with Cuba in terms which favored the supposition that, should the horrors alleged prove to be true, this country would interfere in the cause of humanity. For some time, however, the insistence of matters of domestic concern, and other reasons, produced a certain sluggishness or apathy in regard to Cuban affairs. But stories of Spanish brutality still continued to appear in the press, and led to closer scrutiny of Spanish doings in Cuba. Finally, a number of members of Congress undertook a trip to Cuba to investigate for themselves; and their report, when delivered, fully corroborated the worst stories printed for a year past in the newspapers.

Meanwhile, Weyler had retired from the Captain-generalcy of Cuba, and had been succeeded by General Blanco, who ostensibly proceeded to put forward a policy of mercy and autonomy. Cubans were to be permitted to govern themselves, under Spanish supervision: the reconcentrados

appearance at least of conforming to the dictates of humanity must be made. But the hollowness of the concession was almost immediately apparent. The Cubans themselves, taught by bitter experience, repudiated the autonomy pretense, and pointed out that the conditions under which Spain claimed rights of supervision were amply sufficient to insure a continuance of every abuse of which they now complained. As for the relaxation of the rules governing the reconcentrados, it soon transpired that it concealed a sinister motive. Most of these unfortunates were too far gone in starvation and despair to avail themselves of the permission to return to their homes; those who did return found them burned to the ground; and while they were debating what next to do, they were set upon by the bands of guerrillas and slaughtered in cold blood. In a word, Weyler's policy was in no degree revoked; it was only prosecuted under a hypocritical disguise by his successor. All hope for Cubans, except by direct intervention of the United States, was at an end.

We were, however, willing to let the war initiative come from Spain; we insisted only on relieving the reconcentrados at once with supplies which we furnished. About the same time, our fleet began to gather together at Key West, and in other places neighboring to Cuba and the West Indies; and a number of our ships, under Dewey, was known to be off the Chinese coast, within a few days' sail of the Spanish colony of the Philippines, which had also been in revolt for causes similar to those which animated the Cubans. In January, one of our warships, the "Maine," was sent to the harbor of Havana, nominally on a friendly visit, on the same basis as that on which the "Vizcaya" was even then preparing to visit New York Harbor. But it was understood in this country that the "Maine" was intended to inspire the Spaniards in Cuba with respect for the Americans living

to Spanish hands the distribution of these supplies, and on the other hand the lives of Americans were not safe in Havana and the neighboring towns; even the consuls, Consul-general Fitz Hugh Lee not excepted, were more or less in peril. But after the arrival of the "Maine," a distinct improvement in the Spanish bearing toward Americans was noticeable; and Miss Clara Barton, who had come to oversee and direct the relief of the starving people, was treated with courtesy and permitted to carry out, in some degree, her measures of mercy. At the same time, beneath this surface courtesy, was readily observable an undercurrent of hatred and covert menace; and the presence of the "Maine" was evidently most irksome to the population of Havana. A word let fall by the Spanish consul in Key West at this time—that it needed but a turn of the hand to send the "Maine" to hell, with all on board—was remembered afterwards.

Havana Harbor—though the fact was not known, however keenly suspected—was sown with mines, as they are technically called: a kind of bomb filled with gun-cotton, dynamite, or other explosive, connected with the shore by wire, and exploded at any desired moment by turning on an electrical current through the wire. An Englishman named Gibbons testified to having supplied a number of mines to the Spanish Government for use in Havana Harbor; and an American, Crandall, admitted having laid mines in that harbor in 1896, at the order of General Weyler. In July of the next year, at Weyler's special direction, he laid a large mine close to buoy No. 4, in the center of the harbor. This mine, if touched by the keel of a vessel lying over it, would reveal the fact automatically at the keyboard on shore; and a person on the watch there would then only have to



and that the planting of mines in Havana Harbor could therefore have had no reference to them. On the other hand, there was no nation except the American from which the Spaniards had any reason to anticipate hostile action:

Such was the setting of the scene when the "Maine" entered Havana Harbor. Captain Sigsbee was proceeding to choose his own anchorage, when he was directed by the harbor-master, acting under the directions of the Captain-general, to station his ship at buoy No. 4. He of course complied, and the "Maine" remained attached to that buoy until the moment when the mine placed there was exploded, and blew her up. This event occurred on the night of the 15th of February, about nine o'clock, when the major part of the crew were below in their hammocks; and two hundred and sixty-six officers and men were killed, and the ship herself utterly destroyed.

The survivors on the ship, and all disinterested persons who were cognizant of the conditions, were at once convinced that the catastrophe was not the result of chance. The mining of the harbor was known, although it had uniformly been denied by the Spaniards; and it had been a topic of common gossip among the men of the "Maine" that there was a mine under her bottom. Threats to blow her up had several times been heard from Spaniards in Havana; and when the deed had been done, there was slight attempt to disguise the feeling of joy which it caused in the city. Spanish officers, meeting in the cafés, toasted one another on the success of the *coup*. The hand of some Spanish officer, connected with the Weyler interest, had probably done the deed; but, of course, there was an immediate official disavowal of it. Meanwhile, the American flag was hoisted over the remains of our ship, and an investigation was begun to determine by direct and scientific evidence the cause of the explosion. The court of investigation consisted of United States officers, who went to

prolonged for no less than forty days. Less than a fourth as many would have amply sufficed; but there were reasons for the delay: First, in order to give time for the creditors of Spain to try to influence Congress against war; and secondly, to afford us time to get ready for possible hostilities. The story of the negotiations behind the scenes may yield interesting reading at some future epoch; for the present, their tenor can only be conjectured. The sense of outrage was marked on all sides, and it became daily more obvious that no tampering with the situation would be permitted. "Remember the 'Maine'" became a watchword everywhere.

When, at length, the report of the Court was allowed to appear, it bore out to the full the worst anticipations. Every part and fragment of the wreck had been scrutinized by experts, and they all indicated a force applied externally, and from below upward. The Spanish authorities afterward made a perfunctory examination, lasting a few days, and announced, in the face of the evidence, that the explosion was from within; but the manifest falsity of this conclusion only went to show, not only that a mine destroyed the "Maine," but that the firing of the mine was deliberate on Spain's part. Her profession of a willingness to submit the matter to arbitration was regarded as an insult; and her pointblank refusal to make restitution made an appeal to arms inevitable, quite aside from the question of the reconcentrados.

The President sent the report to Congress, with comments thereon, which by many were thought unduly conservative; and in the message which he issued April 11th, asking authority to use the military and naval forces of the United States to compel Spain to evacuate Cuba, he based his request on Spanish inhumanity to Cubans, and on her inability to conquer them; and not upon the destruction of the "Maine." This was no doubt due to lack of technical proof that it was

ground of criticism from our proceedings. It was in the name of humanity, therefore, that this country finally declared war.

After a few days of animated debate, a joint resolution of the two Houses of Congress was promulgated which, after calling attention to conditions which had for three years existed in Cuba, characterizing them as a disgrace to civilization, and remarking that they had culminated "in the destruction of a United States battleship, with 266 of its officers and crew, while on a friendly visit to the harbor of Havana," goes on to declare that the Cubans are and of right ought to be free and independent; that it was our duty to demand that Spain at once relinquish authority in the island and withdraw its forces therefrom; that the President be empowered to use the entire land and naval power of the United States, and to call out the militia, to effect these ends; and that the United States "hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people." A more disinterested and honorable war was never undertaken; and it was strictly in harmony with the traditions and mission of America. The date of the above resolutions was April 19th—a day already famous in our annals.

Already measures having a warlike tendency had been taken both by Spain and by the United States. A Spanish fleet was being gathered at the Cape Verde Islands, which belong to Portugal, as early as the 2d of April; numbers of Spaniards in Havana had enlisted in the volunteers; the President had replied to representatives of six European powers (expressing a hope that peace might be preserved), that the war of Spain on the Cubans must cease; Consul-general Lee was recalled from Havana together with other Americans



Destruction of the "Maine"



were issued, and several war vessels were purchased in Europe. On the 15th of April England declared coal contraband of war; on the 19th, troops were moved from various garrisons to Chickamauga Park, whence lines of railway radiate to the southern Atlantic coast, and to ports on the Gulf of Mexico; on the 20th our ultimatum was cabled to Spain, and on the 21st, before Woodford, our minister at Madrid, had delivered it to the Spanish government, he was given his passports and escorted out of the country. On the same day, the fleet under Sampson was ordered to proceed to blockade Havana, and the foreign governments were duly notified. Dewey was directed to proceed to Manila, in the Philippines; and on April 26th, McKinley issued a call for one hundred and twenty-five thousand volunteers, apportioning to each state its quota. Three days before this Sampson's squadron had captured a Spanish prize steamer, the "Buen Ventura," which was entering Key West in ignorance that the war had begun.

At this time, neither nation was fully prepared for war, though Spain had been urging preparations ever since January; but she had perhaps doubted whether we really meant to fight, being misled by the vociferousness of the Peace party. The European powers were divided in their sympathies, France and Austria favoring Spain, as did also a part of the German press; while Italy was disposed to adopt a friendly attitude toward us, and Russia intimated that she had nothing to object to in our course. England, however (although, in common with the rest, declaring a strict neutrality), took occasion in various ways to express a cordial friendship for the United States, and entire approval of our course. It was semi-officially intimated that an alliance would not be unwelcome to England, in the event of any other power siding with Spain against us; and a great deal was said about the

ference that friendship rather than a regular alliance would meet our views of the greatest expediency. We thought ourselves well able to take care of Spain without assistance; and it was generally felt that, in the long run, England might profit more by an alliance with us than we should.

The navies of Spain and of the United States were considered by experts to be about equal, with a slight preponderance in favor of Spain. Of trained soldiers under arms Spain undoubtedly had by far the greater number; and the remark was already being made that she would have a powerful ally against us in Cuba, in the shape of the yellow fever, which would be due about the time fighting in the island began. It was conceded that after the first months of the war, America would begin to gain, owing to her enormous superiority in resources of men and money; but it was thought that, meanwhile, Spain might be able to inflict staggering losses on us by sending a swift fleet to bombard our great sea-coast cities, and collecting ransom. Indeed, there was something approaching a panic in some of these exposed places, and regrets were freely expressed that, in time of peace, we had not prepared for war. As it turned out, there was never any danger from the Spanish fleet, which was presently to prove itself incapable of either enterprise or fighting ability. But had we been opposed by the navy of any other power, we might no doubt have been forced to pay a fearful price for our neglect.

But if the Spanish fleet could not fight or attack, it could puzzle us sorely as to its whereabouts and intentions. After collecting at St. Vincent, Cape Verde Islands, it remained there as long as the dilatory tactics of Portugal, which was the last of the nations to declare neutrality, would permit. It finally set sail in a westerly direction; but it might be aiming at any point of our coast; and reports of "phantom

Charleston; or they were descending in force on Havana, or they were sailing to cut off our battleship "Oregon," which had started from San Francisco, and was now coming up the coast of South America. Until we could know which of these several points to protect, we could form no definite plan of campaign; and thus Spain kept us guessing for what seemed a long time. Suddenly the report was sent with every sign of authority that the fleet had returned to Cadiz, Spain, and had given up the idea of crossing the Atlantic. But shortly after, it was heard of from Martinique, and its destination was surmised to be Cienfuegos, on the south coast of Cuba. If we could intercept it, a naval battle might be expected off the coast of Porto Rico. Schley, who had been on guard at Hampton Roads, was sent to the west end of Cuba, on the chance of the fleet's appearing there; while Sampson, after testing the defenses of San Juan, Porto Rico, by a short bombardment of its forts on May 12th, repaired to the Windward Passage, east of Cuba, in the hope of catching the Spanish fleet on its way north or west. Study of the map made it seem impossible that Cervera's ships could escape; but the feat was not so difficult in the actual waters of the Caribbean; and on May 19th the report was disseminated that the Spaniards were safe in the landlocked harbor of Santiago de Cuba.

Long previous to this date, however, several skirmishes by land and sea had taken place on the Cuban coast, and one great and memorable naval battle had been fought and won in the bay of remote Manila. The skirmishes were interesting chiefly as having bestowed their baptism of fire upon our soldiers and sailors; the losses were trifling, and the results unimportant. On the 27th of April the earthworks at



29th, a force of Spanish cavalry near Port Cabanas was dispersed by the "New York." On May 11th, while Sampson was on the Porto Rican coast, there occurred at Cardenas an engagement which was notable as being the first in the war in which Americans were killed by the enemy. There were concerned in this affair two gunboats, the "Machias" and the "Wilmington," under Commanders Merry and Todd; the converted revenue cutter "Hudson," Lieutenant Newcomb, and the torpedo boat "Winslow," under Lieutenant Bernadou. It had been discovered that there were in Cardenas Harbor three Spanish gunboats; but the waters were so shallow that not all of the American vessels could maneuver within, and a partially successful attempt was made, on the 8th of May, to draw the Spaniards out. On the 11th the "Hudson" and the "Winslow" undertook to run into the harbor and engage the gunboats where they lay off the wharf of Cardenas town. The harbor had been buoyed in places in order to fix the range, and as the "Winslow," which was in front, passed amid these buoys, she was hit by guns from the shore, and Bernadou was wounded in the leg. He bandaged his wound, and continued to direct his ship; but meanwhile another shot had broken the steering-gear of the "Winslow," and others passed through the boiler and disabled one of the engines. By the aid of the other engine, moving the vessel alternately backward and forward, it was found possible to get out of the region of the buoys; and Ensign Worth Bagley was stationed amidships to pass orders to the engineer below. The "Winslow" had all this while been firing her one-pounders continuously. The "Hudson," a slower ship, had meanwhile arrived within hailing distance, and Bernadou asked her to tow his ship out of the harbor. Up to this moment, no one except Bernadou had been hit, though ten shells had struck his boat. But while the "Hudson" was trying to pass a line, a shell struck in the midst

five were wounded; thus putting nearly half of the whole crew hors de combat. The "Hudson" succeeded in passing a line, but it broke, or was shot in two; and the same mishap happened to the second. The "Hudson" then went alongside the "Winslow," made fast to her, and in this manner took her out of range; while the "Wilmington," from outside, destroyed the Spanish gunboat lying by the wharf, and silenced all the shore batteries. It is a singular fact that more American seamen were killed in this little incidental skirmish than in all the other naval engagements of the war combined. The behavior of all the men in action was daring and cool throughout, and sufficed to show, without Dewey's superb demonstration, that the spirit of the American navy was all that it had ever been.

On the very next day there was a sharp little affair at Cabanas Harbor, on the other side of Havana, which was notable as being the first occasion on which troops were landed and engaged with the Spaniards. Two companies, E and G, of the First United States Infantry, were ordered on board the transport "Gussie" to carry three Cuban scouts, Major Donato Soto and two others, to some point on the Cuban coast, to communicate with the insurgent armies in the interior. A week was spent in running up and down the north shore, looking for a good landing-place; but the Spaniards were found everywhere actively on the lookout; a place near Cabanas was finally decided upon, though here also there were signs of the enemy, and in fact two thousand Spanish troops were posted at the town; but, at the time of the landing, most of these were engaged in repelling an attack from an insurgent force on the other side. Company G was

At the moment of getting the men into the landing boats, a heavy tropical rain began to fall, and continued its deluge until after the landing was accomplished, accompanied by gusts of wind which threw up a choppy sea. Midway to the shore the men had to jump out on a reef and lift the boats across it, while exposed to the Spanish fire, which was copious, but did no damage. Reaching, at length, a thickly wooded point, the men were formed in skirmish line, with twenty paces between each of them. At a bridge, a little distance inland, the enemy was encountered, and retreated after exchanging a volley. The engagement then extended along the entire front of the advance, but, as usual, the enemy could not be seen. The Americans held the line until the Cuban scouts, in the rear, had saddled and mounted their horses, and passed round the flank into the interior country; whence they returned a month later, having obtained and communicated valuable information. While the line was held, or for about half an hour, the two gunboats and the transport were unable to give any assistance, lest their fire might fall among our own men, who, like the Spaniards, were invisible; but after the scouts had escaped, the line was withdrawn toward the shore, and placed behind a hasty intrenchment; and then the boats opened fire and put the enemy to flight. No Americans were killed, but many Spanish dead were found after the engagement. The men were safely re-embarked before the regiments in Cabanas fort had arrived at the scene of action. They seemed to have looked over the ground after we had left it, and to have reported to General Blanco, in Havana, a great Spanish victory.

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But I think it is then time that we cross the Continent, and

to "capture or destroy" the Spanish fleet in Pacific waters. On the 27th he sailed from Mirs Bay, on the Chinese coast, prepared to carry out the order. Dewey, it appears, had long ago foreseen that there would be opportunity for work on the Pacific station, and had applied for the assignment; and ever since he had been carefully studying the situation. His squadron consisted of two transports, "Zafiro" and "Nanshan," laden with coal, and stores enough for six months; four cruisers, one of which, the "Boston," was partially protected, while the three others, the "Olympia," the "Raleigh" and the "Baltimore," were protected; two gunboats, the "Concord" and the "Petrel," and a revenue cutter, the "McCulloch." Thus there were seven fighting ships in all, though the "McCulloch," being very lightly armed, and unprotected, did not take part in the engagement. The armament was fifty-seven big guns, including ten 8-inch, and seventy-four rapid-fire and machine guns.

The Spanish force against which this squadron was to fight numbered one wooden and six steel protected and iron cruisers, five gunboats and two torpedo boats; the largest of their guns were not above 6.2-inch, and none of their ships was so large as the "Olympia" or the "Baltimore"—which measured, respectively, 5,870 and 4,600 tons. On the other hand, the Spaniards had the advantage in numbers, and a great advantage in the guns mounted in Cavite and the shore batteries, many of which were 10-inch, and of the best modern make. The harbor was also sown with mine-fields and torpedoes; but only one or two of these were exploded during the engagement, and they did us no harm. Their moral effect, however, should not be left out of the account. Admiral Montojo commanded the Spanish fleet; and he had 1,950 men against our 1,808.

The American squadron left Mirs Bay at two P. M. on  
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The "Concord" and "Boston" were then sent ahead to look for the enemy in Subig Bay, and the "Baltimore" afterward followed to support them; the rest of the ships arriving there in the afternoon. No enemy was in sight, and the conclusion was, that Montojo must have chosen to do battle under the Manila batteries. The entrance to the harbor was forty miles further on, and orders were given to steam thither at six knots an hour, in order to pass the batteries there about midnight. The nerves of the men were tested by this slow approach to unknown dangers. The entrance to the bay is five miles wide, but in its mouth are three islands: Corregidor, the largest, a mass of volcanic rock, well-fortified, and mounted with Krupp cannon; Caballo, four hundred feet high, near it on the south, and El Fraile, a small rock mounted with a battery, a little off the southern main. The northern channel is narrow, and was said to be mined; the southern channel is three miles wide, but is exposed to a cross-fire from the three islands. Dewey decided to pass in by the latter, and hoped to get by, under cover of the darkness, without being seen.

We do not know when the American ships were first seen by the Spaniards, or to what cause their discovery was due. Their arrival at Bolinao Bay might have been telegraphed thence to Montojo. But if so, it would seem that he should have prepared some surprise for them on their arrival. He did nothing, but remained to the last self-immured in the little harbor within Cavite. Some accounts state that our approach was heralded by rockets from the Spanish forts at the mouth of the harbor before we had fairly entered it; others say that we were all but through, when a shower of sparks from the funnel of the "McCulloch," in the rear of the column, betrayed our presence, and that it was then that

and then a flash from the direction of El Fraile showed that the enemy was awake. But nothing could be seen of our ships except gliding gray shadows, and the lanterns hung over the stern of each to guide its follower; and that shower of sparks from the "McCulloch." The Spaniards, therefore, had no good mark to shoot at. The several shots they fired, therefore, plunged harmlessly into the water to right and left; and they were replied to only by some half dozen shots from the "Concord," "Boston" and "McCulloch," the effect of which was undetermined. Dewey's orders were not to engage, and in a few minutes silence resumed its reign in the mysterious darkness. But the incident had somewhat relieved the nervous strain of the men, and they breathed freer for those few explosions.

From Corregidor to Manila city is about thirty miles, and it was the commodore's purpose not to begin fighting before daylight; consequently there was more than enough time to cover the distance. Dawn in the tropics comes suddenly. The speed of the ships was still further reduced, until it equaled the pace of a man walking. The air was still and hot; the water smooth; silence was kept on all the vessels, except for the whispered orders.

It had been a cloudy night, and the dawn was gray: the first objects seen by the men on lookout were the embattled promontory of Cavite, jutting out from the line of the shore, and beyond it, the low houses of flat Manila. Shots came from both directions, but fell short; the Spanish fleet was then discerned under the lee of Cavite. The ships had been cleared for action long since; the men were ready. They stood to their guns with a smile. As the fleet turned to pass before the enemy, the transports and the "McCulloch" were left in the center of the bay, not out of range, but out of action.

its equal chance, and at the same time offering the difficulty of a moving target to the enemy. Montojo had apparently made no preparations for battle, except to ensconce himself in as safe a place as possible; it does not appear that he even had steam in his boilers. Did he imagine that his foe was going to anchor in front of him, ship for ship, and hammer it out to the end?

Dewey's ideas were bolder and less medieval. He knew that his men could shoot straight, and that they would do their duty. The accuracy of aim of American gunners was one of the deciding features of this war.

As the American squadron advanced to the attack, the scene was beautiful and peaceful; as fair a May-day morning as was ever seen. As the sun rose, its level rays streamed over the pallid bay, painting it with increasing azure. All round that great amphitheater of inland sea, distant mountains rose; the stretches of nearer landscape were densely shawled with the variegated greens of tropical vegetation, fading into aerial perspectives of purple and blue. On the shore, between Manila and Cavite, was seen a constantly augmenting throng of people, dressed mostly in white; they were coming to witness the annihilation of the Yankee fleet.

At this juncture, a string of party-colored flags fluttered from the "Olympia," the Commodore's flagship; which was no sooner seen than a deep burst of sound, again and again renewed, broke from the hitherto silent vessels—the cheering of the Yankee tars. The signal had been displayed with good judgment and knowledge of human nature; in the language of naval emblems it communicated a thought that filled every heart in the squadron with desire for battle. It

Though no additional reminder was needed, about this time there leaped heavily up from the level surface of the bay a huge pyramid of foaming water darkened with mud and sand, accompanied with a dull and muffled roar. A mine-field had been fired; but so much out of distance as hardly to be remarked. A new signal now showed from the "Olympia" — "Hold your fire until close to the enemy." And that might have recalled another, more distant day, when the embattled farmers on Bunker Hill kept finger to trigger till the red-coated ranks of invaders toiling up the hot slope were so near that one could see the whites of their eyes. Americans waited then, and would wait to-day, with results even more terrible.

But the time was at hand. The captains on their bridges kept their eyes on the Commodore, who stood quietly observing the diminishing distance between his ship and the Spanish line. When within five thousand yards he turned and spoke to Captain Gridley: it was eighteen minutes to six. Gridley gave an order; the naked, sweating men in the turrets, who had waited so long, made their quick, sharp movements: and all at once there broke from the "Olympia" such a volley of sound as that quiet bay had never known before. The great cruiser herself reeled backward from the shock of her own mighty voice; the bridge on which stood the Commodore seemed about to burst upward from its fastenings; men standing on the decks staggered as from a giant blow. Forth from the gun-muzzles streamed a horizontal flash of death, with white volumes of smoke that hid the ship; an instant later, she spoke again, and destruction sped across the expanse, which shuddered and swung aside beneath. In less time than one draws a breath those huge bolts of steel had crossed the space to the "Reina Cristina," on whose



ing clouds—the pungent breath of the prismatic brown powder. Meanwhile from the entire Spanish fleet, and from the batteries, and Cavite, came a roar and tempest of detonations and deep explosions, mingling together in one stupendous diapason: the high vault of sky seemed too narrow to contain the sound, and the air shook, riven asunder by blows beyond the force of Titans. Human senses were outdone and numbed; the naked men worked like demons in the smutty reek and heat; the joy of fighting flamed in their souls.

The second round passed without special incident, the fire on both sides being kept up without interruption. On the third turn, a rip of the tide carried the "Raleigh" close to the Spanish fleet, but so flurried were the Spanish gunners that none could hit her, though she poured in destruction. Then Montojo, perhaps fancying that he should respond to such a challenge, moved out to attack the "Olympia." He posed, for a moment, as the champion of Spain. But his ardor soon subsided; he was met by the concentrated fire of half our fleet, and half-way out he stopped, turned, and began to scuttle homeward. As the stern of the "Reina Cristina" swung into view a shot from one of the "Olympia's" 8-inch guns struck it fairly, with an effect as if the unhappy vessel had been kicked violently from behind. The gigantic impact started her forward, and the shell, passing through all obstructions, exploded in her boiler, killing half her crew and tearing her almost to pieces. Montojo abandoned his ship forthwith, and got on board the "Isla de Cuba"; but she too was riddled and shattered by our fire, and made for the shore, where she sank. At this juncture,

one. Then, in a moment, the first of the two was hit in the boiler, and exploded and sank; the second turned tail and hastened in a sinking condition to the shore.

After the fifth round, the "Olympia" turned and steamed out of range, to the dismay, at first, of some of our fleet, and to the delight of the Spaniards, who seemed to fancy that they must in some way have gained a victory. But it was only that Dewey had made up his mind that his men needed a chance to cool off and to get some breakfast. The ships drew together some miles out, while the forts continued to pour tons of shot into the bay, with the same blind unreason that had marked their shooting throughout. A conference of the American officers elicited the astonishing fact that not a man in the fleet had been killed, and but a handful were wounded throughout. The "Baltimore" was penetrated by a shell, which did not interfere with her fighting capacity; and the other ships were more lightly marked. Our ships passed slowly, broadside on; and some of the lighter-draught boats ran close in to the batteries; but nothing touched them effectively.

After a three hours' intermission, Dewey returned to the attack. But the first battle had practically disposed of the Spanish fleet; the "Reina Cristina" and the "Castilla" were burning, and all the others were more or less incapacitated. Therefore, the plan of the second battle was different from the first; the ships advanced one by one, or in pairs or threes, took up a chosen position, and poured their fire, carefully aimed, at the Spanish forts on Cavite and elsewhere. The "Baltimore" was the first to advance; then the "Olympia," shooting heedfully, for her ammunition was running low. For a time the forts replied rapidly, though as ineffectively as ever; but at last only three guns on Cavite were in action, and one shot from the "Boston" disabled all of them. Atten-

with her flag flying. Much of the finishing work was done by the little "Petrel," which fearlessly entered the Cavite harbor; and it was a shot from her that changed the flag flying over the navy yard from yellow to white. It was just past one o'clock when the surrender of Cavite took place—about eight hours from the opening of the engagement, including the three hours' intermission. Never was less ammunition wasted in battle than in this fight. The number of Spanish dead is not exactly known, but it was about a third of those engaged, and the wounded were correspondingly numerous. Not one of their fourteen ships survived; and the guns of all the forts were silenced. Such a victory made the American navy, man for man and ship for ship, the most formidable in the world, and in a day gave our country first rank among the great naval powers.

Admiral Dewey, as we may now call him, might have bombarded Manila and caused its surrender; but as he had not men enough to garrison it, this would have thrown the inhabitants into the power of the Filipinos, who would probably have massacred them and looted the city. He contented himself, accordingly, with sending home news of the engagement, and a demand for troops to complete the conquest of the islands. Manila is a town of three hundred thousand inhabitants, a few thousand of them foreigners; it stands on Luzon, the largest of the twelve hundred islands and islets of which the Philippine group consists. Pending further operations, Dewey occupied Cavite and the forts at the entrance of the harbor, and put Aguinaldo, a rebel leader who had accompanied him from Hong Kong, in command of the insurgents—Aguinaldo agreeing to co-operate with the Americans. As the operations in Manila were distinct from

tractors, which had been disagreeably conspicuous in all matters throughout the war in which they had been concerned; and partly to the refusal of Merritt to undertake his duties unless a much larger force of regulars than was at first given him was placed at his disposal, a series of little armies was sent forward from San Francisco. The first of these expeditions, convoyed by the "Charleston," Captain Glass, stopped at the Ladrões group of islands, beyond the Sandwich Islands, and executive officer Braunersreuther was sent ashore with a few men to receive their surrender from the Spanish commandant. The latter asserted that he had not heard of the declaration of war; but he and his men were taken prisoners, and the Ladrões became American soil. They will be of great convenience as an intermediate coaling station. Continuing her voyage, the "Charleston" brought her transports to Manila on June 30th. Another expedition was by that time part way across the Pacific; and General Merritt himself, with the third convoy, had left San Francisco the day before. He arrived out about the first of August, a fourth expedition having left the California coast by that date; and the land investment of Manila was at once begun. There were in the garrison about eight thousand Spanish soldiers, under Captain-general Augustin; and smaller Spanish forces held positions in other parts of the islands. A large number of insurgents were speedily collected by Aguinaldo as general-in-chief, and they beleaguered the town and the neighboring strongholds, capturing most of the latter with small resistance; for many of the defenders were Filipinos forced to serve by the Spaniards, and ready to desert at the first opportunity. But the final attack upon the city itself was postponed until the American troops should be ready.

A singular state of things insensibly resulted. The Amer-

protect them against the barbarism of the natives. Thus while we were acting with the insurgents on general principles, we were yet acting with the Spaniards against them from a special point of view. The situation was complicated by the behavior of Aguinaldo, who had at first been a protegee of ours, and professedly our firm ally. The successes which he met with, and the urgency of the desires of his followers, led him gradually to adopt an ambiguous if not semi-hostile attitude toward us; and though the expulsion of Spain from the islands would be wholly due to us, we were given to infer that our presence and control were considered undesirable by the insurgents. It was a possible issue, therefore, that, after disposing of Spain, we might be constrained to fight the natives also.

Meanwhile, the critical aspect of Europe's warring interests in the East made the securing of a foothold in the group desirable to them, or some of them; and the tactics of the German squadron at Manila rendered it probable that Germany, more than the other powers, was anxious to possess herself of a station there at least. England, on the other hand, seemed to favor our retention of the whole group, and Japan, so far as her feeling could be surmised, would not oppose our doing so. But the officers on the German ships openly fraternized with the Spaniards; and Aguinaldo was believed to have made promises of concessions to the Germans, in return for moral or physical support from them against us. There was, altogether, a curious and delicate complication, which might easily have been inflamed into serious trouble by an indiscreet or feeble representative on our side. Fortunately we were represented by a man of exceptional executive and diplomatic ability as well as of

somed to push his arrogance beyond the bounds of technical right conduct; he kept his temper and his wits on all occasions; he fathomed the character and position of Aguinaldo, and knew how to hold him in hand. He perceived that with every day that passed our own stand, both moral and physical, would become more unassailable. He understood the evil of political interference in military affairs, and kept the cable connecting him with Washington unrepai red: he had cut it the day after the battle of Manila, and all communications to or from him must go by dispatch boats plying between Manila and Hong Kong. Thus he retained control, and was free to use his own discretion as to what should be done or left undone; and his native intelligence, his experience, and the advantages he enjoyed in being on the spot, enabled him to do all well.

During July, the successive bodies of American troops were landed on the shores of Manila Bay, and got in readiness for the assault on the Manila fortifications. By the end of the month there were about fifteen thousand troops under General Merritt, of whom a third or more were regulars. The number of soldiers wearing the Spanish uniform was about eight thousand, the majority of them regulars. They were well intrenched, and the advantage was apparently on their side; but in truth there was no misgiving as to the American superiority. The Spanish troops were poor in physique, and still poorer in spirit, from Augustin down; the latter, as his dispatches to Spain indicated, would have surrendered long before, but for the dread of court-martial. He also dreaded the numerous insurgent troops who now surrounded the city on every side; and he appeared to be trying to secure a promise from us to hold Aguinaldo in check in case of surrender, and on the other hand intriguing with the rebel chief to join with him against us. It is not in this temper, or

tending parties, and the Germans, whose naval force was now so inferior to ours as to make an overt demonstration on their part impossible. It was, nevertheless, full time for us to act; since the rainy season was beginning, and the health of our army would be impaired by long inactivity in the trenches.

Aguinaldo was between two fires, or possibly three. He feared to support the Americans, lest his followers charge him with intending to transfer them from one master to another; he could not trust the Spaniards, knowing their faithlessness of old; and yet, if the Germans took part with the Spaniards, he would be in peril should he refuse the latter's overtures. In this predicament, he issued a statement not devoid of acuteness, though it was amusingly transparent. "Why should the Americans expect me to fight blindly for their interests when they will not be frank with me?" he asked. "Am I fighting for annexation, protection, or independence? I can take Manila, but to what use?—If America takes it, I save my men and arms for what the future has in store for me. I am not both a fool and a rogue, but the interests of my people are as sacred as yours."

This manifesto was significant, for practical purposes, only as showing that the insurgents could not be depended upon as allies, and that it might be necessary to guard against them as enemies. Orders were given to enter into no negotiations with them. A few days later, Aguinaldo proposed to General Merritt that, in the event of the surrender of Manila, he should be permitted to lead his troops through the city in a triumphal march; and that hereafter American officers should be put in command of native troops. This indicated a moderation of his attitude toward us; there were

Augustin might surrender without a conflict: the hopelessness of contending against our army and fleet simultaneously being apparent. This, also, would be the best way to secure the city against being looted by the insurgents, in the confusion of the first hours of our entry into it. But on the other hand, if Augustin surrendered without a fight, or the pretence of one, he would be shot on returning to Spain. Dewey and Merritt were desirous to avoid bloodshed, and useless destruction of property, but they could not enter into intricacies of this kind, and announced that unless the city was surrendered, it would be attacked from land and sea, with results the responsibility for which must rest on Spanish shoulders.

At this juncture, our troops were assembled in Camp Dewey, some miles south of Manila, but near the Spanish intrenched lines on that side. Immediately in front of them were insurgent troops under Aguinaldo, in breastworks constructed by him. Before the 30th of July, a section of the insurgents moved out of that part of their breastworks which adjoined the shore of the bay, and were replaced by our troops, who thus lay with their left wing on the shore, and their right adjoining the left wing of the insurgents. The distance between them and the Spanish lines was about one thousand yards. The town here held by the Spaniards was called Malate, several miles south of Manila, and connected with it by a road passing through the suburban village of Paco. The number of Spanish troops at this point was about thirty-five hundred, all regulars. The number of our men in the trenches was about nine hundred on the night of July 31st; and they were nearly all volunteers, lately arrived, who had never been under fire. The fleet was at Cavite, opposite Manila, some miles to the north.

As evening fell, a violent typhoon set in, with pitchy



troops from their position this evening, thereby leaving our right flank exposed. At eleven o'clock, in the midst of the storm, our pickets were fired on, and retreated slowly within our lines, the enemy following in force, with artillery. Our troops were called to arms and responded promptly, and amid the fury of the tropical downpour a severe battle began. The first of our troops to sustain the onset of the enemy was a battery of the Tenth Regiment of Pennsylvania volunteers, who held the Spaniards in check with a well-directed fire until some companies of the First California Volunteers and the Utah Battery, under Captain Young, could move forward to their support. By the time the relief came, the Pennsylvania men had but four rounds of ammunition left. A partial penetration of their right had been made, when the regulars of the Third Artillery charged as infantry, and drove the enemy back in confusion, the volunteers assisting. The Astor Battery, which was on the ground, was unable to do any execution, owing to the boats in which they landed having capsized in the storm, ruining their ammunition. After the repulse of the first attack, there was a lull for two or three hours, and then the enemy advanced once more, and maintained his attack for half an hour, with the same result as at first. They had moved some artillery to our right, and directed a harassing fire from that direction; but again fell back. The storm continued with unabated vigor, and the only indication for our men of the whereabouts of the enemy had been the flash of their guns, so that the fighting was of a blindfold character; but toward four o'clock the Spaniards came on a third time, though now in a half-hearted manner. Our men, on the contrary, were now in a better position, and their fire was more effective than at first; the Spaniards were

Their attack had been well planned, and ought to have been successful. Our men had been engaged in digging new intrenchments in advance of the main line, and were flanked and nearly cut off before they could resume their former position. The roads leading from our camp, in the rear, to the intrenchments, along which our supporting troops must move, were under a heavy flanking fire throughout, which would not have been possible had not the insurgents abandoned their positions at the outset of the engagement. Considering the bewildering circumstances of the battle, and the rawness and inferior numbers of our troops, they deserve great credit for holding their ground. The losses of the Spaniards in killed and wounded have been variously estimated at from one thousand to five hundred; our own loss was again miraculously small—nine killed and forty-five wounded. The Spaniards used Mauser rifles, and had they known how to aim them, they might have exterminated our entire force.

The fact that their first attack was directed precisely at the junction point of our line with that of the insurgents, combined with Aguinaldo's ambiguous conduct during several days previous to the battle, made it seem more than probable that he had had information of the attack, and had withdrawn in order to facilitate it. Had our men been driven from their trenches, the camp would have been open to the enemy, and even without the active help of the insurgents, they could have driven our troops into the sea. Several transports full of American soldiers were lying off shore, waiting for the storm to cease before disembarking. But the moral effect of a defeat would have been a strong encouragement to the Spaniards, and disastrous to us, and might have indefinitely prolonged the war in this quarter. It transpired after the battle that the Spaniards had confidently

report was rife that we had been defeated in the West Indies and our chief coast towns bombarded.

The sally from Malate was the overture to the American attack upon Manila and its defences, which took place on Saturday, August 13th. By that time all the American troops and guns had been disembarked, and were in position, and the fleet was ready to co-operate. Many of the Spanish troops, being natives, were untrustworthy; many more were in hospital; their morale was gone, and their guns were inferior to ours. They had just learned of the failure of Camara's fleet to come to their assistance, and this completed their disheartenment. Finally, the insurgents, admonished by the result of the Malate battle, had ranged themselves emphatically on our side, to the number of at least ten thousand men. Under these circumstances, it was not to be expected that the Spaniards would make a serious resistance. Their intrenchments were ten miles in length and could not be adequately manned.

Dewey had given notice on Friday that he would bombard the town on the following day unless it was surrendered in the meantime. Saturday morning the demand for surrender was made, and declined. At a little before ten o'clock the "Olympia," lying off Malate, fired the first gun at the defences of that town. The rest of the American fleet were ranged along the coast between Malate and the Pasig River, which flows through the center of Manila. The ships of the French and Germans lay to the north of this point, while the English and Japanese were near the Malate end of the line.

For an hour and a half the American fleet kept up the bombardment, directing their fire at fortified places only. Most of the non-combatants had before this taken refuge in

the Americans were re-enforced, and drove them into the town itself. At half past one, the white flag was hoisted, and Manila was ours. That evening, Augustin accepted the offer of a German warship, the "Kaiserin Augusta," to carry him to Hong Kong; he was smuggled aboard at ten o'clock, leaving his subordinate, General Jaudenes, to hand over the city to Dewey and Merritt. It was given out that he had deputed Jaudenes for this service ten days before; and that Admiral Dewey had given him permission to take his departure on the German war-vessel.

This, the last battle of the war, was fought a day after peace had been agreed upon and the protocol signed at Washington and Madrid; but, as in the case of the battle of New Orleans, three-quarters of a century before, the news did not reach the contending parties in season to avert the engagement. In other respects, the two battles had little in common with each other. The shooting at Manila was careful and slow, and was not meant to be deadly; the object of the fleet was to destroy the Spanish works rather than to slaughter their defenders. The latter did little except keep out of the way, and, after a proper interval, move out of the works and hoist the flag of surrender. There were no casualties in the fleet; only the "Olympia," "Raleigh," "Petrel" and "Callao" took part in the active operations; the others were not needed. After all was over, Merritt, with Lieutenant Brumby, went up the Pasig River and landed in Manila; and after some searching found the modest Jaudenes "in a church, crowded with women and children." The insurgents were not allowed to enter the town; the position taken by our Government being that we could not toler-

Thus the first and the last important engagements of the war were fought by Dewey in a place nearly twelve thousand miles distant from the normal seat of hostilities. They were perfect victories, marred by no errors, and followed by acts of humanity and charity. They showed that American men-of-war were models of discipline, order and efficiency.

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We must now return to the situation in the west, and to the month of May, with Sampson and Schley guarding the east and west ends of Cuba, in the hope of intercepting the Spanish fleet under Cervera. When it became certain that Cervera was in fact hidden in the narrow-necked harbor of Santiago, Schley placed himself on guard opposite the entrance, and was soon joined there by Sampson; for it would not have been impossible for the Spanish ships to escape under cover of some dark and stormy night, and it was a matter of vital importance either to keep Cervera where he was, or, if he came out, to fight and destroy him. There was the third alternative of entering the harbor and fighting him there; since Dewey had done a similar thing at Manila, why might not Schley do it at Santiago? But the two cases were very different. For Dewey, there had been no alternative, nor could he afford to delay. He had braved a great peril, but he had been justified in doing so because there was nothing else to be done. But to enter the harbor of Santiago was not justifiable, until all other methods had been tried. The channel, instead of being three miles wide, was but little over four hundred feet. It was filled with torpedoes, and was commanded lengthwise and crosswise by guns of heavy caliber, from some of which a plunging fire could be directed on the unprotected decks of our vessels. There was hardly a chance that the first of our ships to enter that channel would not be blown up or sunk, and her hull would then obstruct





his capture and that of Santiago were only a question of time. Troops could be landed east and west of the bay, and completely invest the town on the landward sides; so that even without a battle the garrison and crews would finally be starved out. Meanwhile our fleet could bombard Morro and the other outer defences at leisure, and perhaps, when they were reduced, either throw shells into the town, over the intervening hills, from the mouth of the channel, or devise some means of exploding the torpedoes in the channel, preparatory to entering in force. The only objection to deliberate operations was that, until Cervera was disposed of, nothing else could safely be attempted. We had not ships enough at our disposal both to keep him where he was, and to carry the war in other directions. Besides, the rainy season was coming on, and the health of our troops was sure to be impaired if they were forced to remain for an indefinite time in trenches.

On May 31st, the day before Sampson's squadron joined Schley's in front of Santiago, the latter bombarded Morro and the other fortifications with the ships "Massachusetts" and "Iowa," and the cruiser "New Orleans." The Spanish "Cristobal Colon" came out near the mouth of the harbor, and added her guns to those of Morro, and four land batteries, in defence. Morro was severely pounded but was not reduced; three of the land batteries were silenced, and it was thought that the "Colon" was hit. On June 1st, Sampson arrived and took command of the entire fleet of sixteen warships. Among other attendant vessels was a collier, the "Merrimac"; and on June 3d, with this collier as the instrument, a deed was done which immediately took its place as



On the way to Santiago he perfected and communicated to Sampson his plan for preventing all further apprehension from Cervera. In its principle, it was simplicity itself:—to sink a vessel in the narrowest part of the channel, so as to obstruct the egress of the Spanish fleet.

Hobson proposed to take in the "Merrimac" himself, with a crew of six men only, who of course must be volunteers. He would have anchors at bow and stern, the former to be dropped when the proper point was reached, and the other when the tide had swung the ship athwart channel. Torpedoes would be arranged along the sides, which would be exploded at the right moment by electricity, and the ship thus sunk immediately—the rather as she would have on board a load of two thousand tons of coal. That, broadly stated, was Hobson's plan. He had thought it out carefully, and could see no valid objections to it; it did but involve the loss of a collier—and the probable sacrifice of his own life and those of his volunteers. In view of the result to be obtained, Hobson thought the expense was not worth considering. Commodore Sampson took the matter into consideration, and finally told Hobson that if he wanted to do the thing, he was at liberty to try. Between two brave and patriotic men there need be little palaver. Hobson set to work to prepare the "Merrimac" at once.

The attempt was to have been made on June 2d. The matter of getting volunteers caused some embarrassment, because all the sailors of the fleet wished to go. Out of upward of a thousand likely men, six were selected; but a seventh managed to smuggle himself on board, for the mere pleasure of the adventure. All was ready on the night of June 2d,

ness, that "there must be no more recalls!" And the next night he was allowed to go.

It was dark when they set out; the clouds covered the sky, there was no moon, and a brisk breeze threw up a choppy sea. The "Merrimac" did not steer straight for the entrance of the harbor, but made a detour, in order to avoid rocks. Being at length on her right course, she was driven ahead at full speed. The men were ordered to lie on the deck, and not to stir until ordered to do so; they were to pay no attention to the fire poured upon them, and if hit, were not to move. These trying instructions every man faithfully observed. Before the big collier had entered the channel, she was discovered, and the rain of shot began. The tall walls of rock on either hand made the darkness more intense than ever, but Hobson steered a true course amid the darkness and the roar of shot and shell and the difficult twistings of the channel. The Spaniards thought they had to deal with a battleship, and turned loose everything they had upon her; though they might have wondered why she made no reply to their furious attack. She kept on her course in silence; but ere she could reach the appointed spot, a shot disabled her steering gear. She was already sinking, without aid of her own torpedoes; but she forged ahead a little, and then began to swing round with the rush of the tide. At this moment, every element of terror at sea was present, except that the ship was not on fire. But her crew had not the relief of fighting back against their enemies; they must keep quiet and lie still, while they sank. They were alone; and nature and man were conspiring to crush them. But they knew that they were doing a mighty service to their country; and there was not a man of them who would have changed places with any other man alive.

The "Merrimac" gave a final plunge and sank, and a

them under. In a few minutes, the suction ceased to drag on them; and then they turned to climb on the catamaran, which had been fastened to the roof of the midship house. But before they could reach it, boats containing Spaniards armed with rifles appeared round the point of rock up the channel. To have climbed upon the raft would have been certain death, for these Spaniards would shoot before asking questions. What should they do, then? The only thing to do was to take shelter underneath it; and this was rendered practicable by the accident that the rope which moored the raft to the deck-house of the sunken ship was a foot or more too short, so that the raft was submerged on one side, while the other stood up out of water. Under this providential roof they swam, and remained huddled together, with only their noses above water, while the Spaniards searched everywhere for traces of the crew which brought this mysterious craft into their harbor, and found none. They barely ventured to breathe, or to converse even in whispers. Hour after hour passed by, and still the curious Spaniards hovered about the spot, ejaculating, conjecturing, and inquisitive. The water, which had at first felt warm, got cold, and their teeth began to chatter till they feared the noise would betray them. One man started to swim ashore, but was ordered back, almost revealing the whole party. At last morning dawned, and then appeared a launch, with officers on board. Hobson hailed them, and clambered out on the raft; after a few minutes' hesitation, the launch allowed him to swim toward them and surrender himself. Admiral Cervera himself pulled him aboard, heard his story, recognized the officer's belt which he wore over his underclothing, and accepted the

it is not the custom for seamen to know or to ask to know the object of the superior officer." Had their fate depended on Linares, they would doubtless have been shot; but Cervera would not permit it; it was he who sent word of their safety to Sampson, and obtained better quarters for them, after they had been subjected to a day's shelling in Morro.

Hitherto our troops had done nothing except congregate in camps and learn to drill. No better material for an army was ever got together; but it must be admitted that there was shown, in the management, transportation and commissariat of an army, considerable incompetence. It must be remembered that more than a generation had passed since the outbreak of the Civil War, and that there existed few of the men who, at that epoch, had made themselves familiar with the work of handling and supplying large bodies of troops. Mistakes were inevitable, and in the case of contractors there may also have been negligence or recklessness. The problems of a campaign in a tropical country were likewise novel and of especial difficulty. The story of abuses was vehemently told, but no such evidence was adduced as to justify retailing it here; the time will come when a full accounting will be demanded, and equal justice dispensed.

The first thing to be done, now that our navy had prepared the way, was to get our troops ashore; and some time was spent in selecting a place in which to land them. There was a harbor east of Santiago, and some forty miles distant from it, which answered our needs; but there was a force of Spaniards there which had to be taken into consideration. Admiral Sampson, supposing, as he had every reason to do, that transports must already be on their way with troops,

Lieutenant-colonel R. W. Huntington, is a stirring episode by itself; but it cannot be treated in detail here. They were attacked by Spanish guerrillas, fighting in the bush and the tall grass and concealing themselves with screens of leaves, on June 11th and following days; the enemy were numerous, and our men were in an exposed position. They began to suffer from the loss of sleep and continual nervous strain; two officers and two men were killed. On June 12th they changed the place of their camp, and were again attacked, but drove the assailants off, losing two more men killed and several wounded. Meanwhile a force of Cubans had joined the Americans, and did good service in scouting and bush-fighting; and on the 14th of June, the soldiers of the two peoples fought for the first time side by side and pursued the Spaniards, inflicting an estimated loss of two hundred upon them. The following day, the warship "Marblehead," Commander McCalla, with the "Texas" and "Suwanee," shelled the fort at Caimanera, the port of Guantanamo; but all this while nothing had been seen of the promised transports with sixteen thousand troops under General Shafter. They should have arrived on the 10th; but as a matter of fact, they did not start from Tampa until the 15th of June. An additional force of marines had been meanwhile landed from the fleet, and the Spaniards had been repulsed in every engagement; but the number of the enemy far exceeded ours, and there seemed to be no reason why they might not receive important re-enforcements. For a time, therefore, some uneasiness was felt about our men. In most of the cases in which our troops had met those of the enemy, the Spaniards

The delay in sending forward our re-enforcements from Tampa was due to the confusion incident to handling an unexpectedly large number of troops; and General Shafter undoubtedly was embarrassed by the task assigned to him. He was lacking in experience and, as it afterward appeared, in tact, as shown in his dealings with our allies, the Cuban troops and generals.

Before the transports arrived, two Cuban leaders, Rabi and Garcia, had effected a lodgment at Acceraderos, a coast town west of Santiago, having a good wharf. June 20th the transports hove in sight, over thirty in number; next day Shafter and Sampson conferred with Garcia as to his co-operation with us; and on the 22d the landing took place at Baiquiri, a feint of landing being made at the same time at a point just west of Santiago, and the coast being shelled by the fleet along a stretch of many miles. No serious opposition was met with; the weather was fine, and in two or three days the sixteen thousand men were ashore.

Besides Baiquiri, we had secured a base at Siboney, between Baiquiri and Santiago. The Spaniards fell back from Demajayabo and Juragua to Sevilla on the road to Santiago; before reaching the last place our advance met the enemy in a sharp skirmish. An ambush had been prepared in the hills of La Guasima: whether or not it was a surprise was a question; General Wheeler, an ex-Confederate soldier, says it was not, and his word may be trusted. At all events we suffered relatively severe losses. An unknown number of Spaniards, conjectured to be fifteen hundred, had constructed effective defences and strung barbed wire at points of vantage; they used smokeless powder, and it was hard to locate them. The number of our troops at this point was about nine hundred, under Colonel Young: they comprised the 23d Regular Infantry and the 1st and 10th Cavalry, and a regiment of

among the first killed of this regiment was Sergeant Hamilton Fish, and at the same time with him fell Captain Capron, a gallant officer. Altogether, in the hour's fight, we lost sixteen killed and fifty-two wounded; but the enemy could not withstand our advance, the persistency of which amazed them, and they fled, leaving Sevilla open to our occupation.

The two armies now confronted each other along a line stretching from the coast town of Aguadores, a few miles east of Morro, to El Caney, northwest of Santiago. The country was better adapted for defence than for attack; the enemy's positions were strong and well chosen, and the earthworks and block houses were rendered more effective by barbed wire fences, so placed as to delay our troops at points where they would be under the direct fire of the enemy, who knew the range, and were themselves unseen. Three things were imperative for the attacking force: thorough knowledge of the ground; a leader who could control and co-ordinate all movements; and abundance of both heavy and light artillery, to prepare the way for the charges of the infantry. None of these conditions was present; the ground was almost entirely unknown; Shafter himself was stricken with fever and compelled to remain in the rear throughout the battle; and the heavy artillery was quite wanting, though some batteries of light artillery, which proved ineffective against the earthworks and block houses, were got into position. The burden of the battle was therefore thrown upon the infantry, and our victory was due to their extraordinary courage and intelligence, and to the heroic leadership of some of the regimental commanders. It was a battle of soldiers, captains and colonels, not of generals; and probably no soldiers in the world, under the conditions, could have acquitted themselves so brilliantly as did our regulars during those

Rough Riders ever found wanting; their dash and daring were worthy of their leaders, Wood and Roosevelt, who exposed themselves with perfect gallantry wherever danger was sorest. But it was a military error to send our men forward to carry positions which had not previously been shelled by heavy artillery; and the losses of the battle—over fifteen hundred—might have been almost entirely avoided had a leader of greater experience and discretion directed affairs. It must be remembered, however, that the rainy season had begun, and that the roads, always rough and difficult, were rendered immeasurably worse by the deluge of water which was daily poured upon them, and by the constant passage of large bodies of men.

The disposition of our army was as follows:—It was technically known as the Fifth Army Corps, consisting of infantry, cavalry (unmounted), and light and heavy artillery. The infantry was in two divisions; the cavalry in two brigades; and there were two brigades of light artillery and four of heavy artillery, which last could not be made effective in season for the attack. Of the infantry, the first division under General Kent occupied the center of our line; it comprised Hawkins's, Pearson's and Wikoff's brigades—eight regular regiments and one (the 71st New York) of volunteers. General Lawton commanded the second division on our right, made up of Chaffee's, Ludlow's and Colonel Miles's brigades—eight regular regiments and one (the 2d Massachusetts) volunteer. Our left, whose duty it was to attack Aguadores, was commanded by General Duffield, and consisted of two Michigan volunteer regiments and two thousand General Wheeler, Sumner and Young being the brigade commanders but Young was incapacitated by illness. Sumner's brigades were all regulars; Young's contained two regular and one of Roosevelt's Rough Riders.



the former arm of the service. As to the volunteers, it should be mentioned that the authorities had made the singular mistake of arming them with old-fashioned Springfield rifles, which carried scarce half as far as the enemy's Mausers, and burned ordinary black powder, which made a smoke that afforded an excellent indication of their position to the Spaniards. Thus they were not only in constant peril themselves, but to the regulars fighting beside them as well. In addition to other embarrassing circumstances attending our advance, was the fact that Spanish sharpshooters, with smokeless powder, were posted in tall and thick-foliaged trees all along our route, and even occasionally in our rear; these men did great execution, and fired constantly upon the wounded, and upon the litters in which they were being taken to the rear, and upon the surgeons and Red Cross officers engaged in tending them.

In spite of all obstacles, errors and drawbacks, the Spaniards were forced to abandon all their positions, and withdraw to the immediate defences of Santiago itself. It might almost be said that our men fought each man for himself; there was no united action, or comprehensive knowledge at one point of what was doing at another. Wherever our troops saw the enemy, they advanced to attack him, and sooner or later drove him back. At the end of the fighting, a general advance would have overwhelmed the dispirited enemy and given Santiago into our hands; but at this juncture, which a brave and competent general would have seized upon, Shafter so far misunderstood the situation that he would have ordered a retreat along the whole line, had he not been restrained by decisive orders from Washington. A vast calamity was thus averted; but one only less serious was invited by the failure of the War Department to order an immediate advance. When Shafter had advanced the army

to the failure of the commissariat, and drinking water which was full of the germs of disease. The inevitable consequence was the outbreak of an epidemic of yellow and typhoid fevers which killed hundreds and shattered the health of thousands. There was again delay in sending the sick and dying men home; and when transport was at last provided, the ships were so inadequate in furnishings and supplies that they became veritable pest ships, and caused the death of many who might otherwise have been saved. The responsibility for these blunders has not been fixed.

The battle of Santiago began on July 1st, and continued three days. On the right, the objective point was the heights of El Caney, protected by earthworks and by a stone house or fort. Our artillery was on a ridge facing it; but the range was known to the Spaniards, and our guns were not heavy enough to drive them from their positions. In order to reach the position with infantry, it was necessary to cross a river under heavy fire and ascend the opposite slope. With the exception of the stone fort, the enemy's batteries were invisible; but their fire, from cannon, machine guns, and rifles, was very heavy and destructive. During the shelling, the infantry slowly advanced from point to point, fighting their way on; the quantity of ammunition expended on both sides was great, but in this preliminary work the losses on our side were the heavier. From four in the morning till two in the afternoon the struggle continued; our extreme right was held by Chaffee with the 7th, 17th and 12th infantry; down in the low land to the south was Ludlow, with his ineffective light battery of four guns. It was evident that the Spanish could not be dislodged by shelling; and when a force of our men, under Clarke, had reached the foot of the hill on which the

the turning point of the battle in this quarter; the last moment of earth for many who were to take part in it. With the taking of the stone fort, the left of the Spanish position would be turned, and its evacuation forced, including that of the village of El Caney, from the stone houses of which a fire had been all along maintained.

The charge was made in full view of both armies; its success seemed impossible. The grass was long and slippery; the ropy vines coiled round the limbs of our men; the thorny branches of the tropic vegetation caught their garments and tore their faces; the bullets and shells of the enemy beat upon them in a continuous stream. The ascent was steep and long. Glancing upward, as they struggled on, the men could see only death flashing down on them from the crest of the hill that was so far away. They were faint with heat, thirst, hunger, and the long day of exertion, but they went on. The Spaniards redoubled their fire, confident of sweeping them back; but no: they still advanced. They were so near now that their comrades in the rear with the batteries feared to continue their fire, lest they kill them. It seemed, to those who watched, that human endurance and courage could do no more; the charge would be repulsed. But even then, the men gathered themselves for a last effort; they forced their way on; they were at the fence of barbed wire that protected the outer trenches; they cut it and tore it down, and leaped into the trenches. The first man in was a war correspondent, James Creelman; he found himself in a hideous pit of blood and death; corpses stared up at him with glassy eyes; wounded men crawled under his feet, and held up their faltering hands in token of surrender. The others had <sup>4-2</sup>  
In poured our panting, victorious troops: the

officer, who held up their hands in supplication, expecting to be butchered, as they would have butchered us had the situation been reversed. Passing round to the rear of the fort, Creelman found the Spanish flag; it was received with cheers, as well it might be, for it had been hardly won. The 12th regulars, in particular, suffered severely. Following the charge, up came Chaffee with the rest of his command, and occupied El Caney. The Spaniards were flying headlong into Santiago; above the blood-bespattered town waved the Stars and Stripes, and our victorious troops looked down at last into the streets of the city, under the declining sun.

Meanwhile our center under General Kent had been engaged all day in the attack on San Juan Hill. Grimes's battery was in position on a height opposite San Juan before seven in the morning, and Hawkins's brigade was near the sugar-house at El Poso; he was moving forward with the First Brigade, when orders were received to allow the cavalry to precede; but the advance of the latter was seriously delayed, owing in part to the difficulty of fording the San Juan River, and to the necessity of the men's ridding themselves of their blanket rolls and other encumbrances. A large part of the command was subjected to the enemy's fire at this time, and their position was trying. Hawkins attempted to turn their right, but the fire proved too heavy. A balloon, sent up for observation purposes by Shafter's orders, was drawing the fire of the enemy upon the First Brigade; bullets seemed to come from all directions, even from the rear, where Spanish sharpshooters were posted in the tall trees. At this juncture the existence of a narrow trail leading across the river on the left was discovered, and into this trail the 71st Regiment of New York Volunteers was sent. The dense tropical jungle impeded their movement; the fire of the

others to conceal themselves in the jungle and cease the advance. The men were meanwhile dropping under the fire, and were in the agony of mind of brave men who desire only to be led against the enemy, but have none to lead them. While the men of the first battalion of the regiment were in this predicament, the second and third battalions came up, and moving in good order, went forward to the ford. Upon their heels came the Third Brigade, but their way became blocked by men of the first battalion of the 71st, who were still without leaders, and several of whom cried out for some one to take them forward. Additional confusion was caused by the long delay of the cavalry, already alluded to; since the orders were that the cavalry was to lead the movement. Kent finally decided to wait no longer; and Wikoff's brigade, consisting of the 9th, 13th and 24th regular infantry, was sent forward across the stream, part of them passing over the battalion of the 71st, which had been ordered to lie down. A few minutes later, Wikoff was killed, and three officers of the brigade were wounded. Following these men came the Second Brigade, the 10th and 2d infantry following the path of Wikoff's men, while the 21st proceeded along the main road to support Hawkins.

But anything like an orderly advance was out of the question; the men could not see one another, and the different commands got mixed together. Through the confusion, however, the Third Brigade, in conjunction with Hawkins's troops on the right, and accompanied by a part of the 71st Volunteers, who attached themselves to other leaders rather than remain in the rear, massed together, and went forward through a terrible fire up San Juan Hill. It seemed as if no man could stand up in the face of that fire and live; but

fences of barbed wire. Besides the men of the 71st Volunteers, this charge was made by the 6th, 9th, 13th, 16th and 24th regiments of regular infantry. Immediately after this charge, which took place at half past one in the afternoon, the Third Brigade captured the hill on the left, driving the enemy before them. This movement was led by Colonel Pearson. The enemy retreated to a line of rifle pits in the rear of their first position, while our men intrenched themselves on San Juan Hill, with the exception of the 13th regulars, who were detached to re-enforce Colonel Wood of the Rough Riders and General Sumner, who were being hard pressed on the right. The glory of the San Juan charge centers round Hawkins, who led his men up the hill, placing himself between the 6th and 16th Infantry.

The capture of El Caney and San Juan caused the evacuation of the positions at Aguadores, so that the success of the Americans was carried out along the whole line, and our army surrounded Santiago on all sides except the northwest. Fearing that a retreat through this opening might be attempted, the lines were extended in that direction, but were thereby so weakened that Shafter telegraphed for help, and six thousand troops were sent forward to him. Attempts by the Spaniards to retake the positions we had captured were repulsed with little difficulty. On July 3d the surrender of Santiago was demanded. It was refused by General Toral, who succeeded General Linares, who had been wounded, and made this a pretext for keeping in the background of the negotiations; but Toral was allowed till the next day to think better of it. By this time, the destruction of Cervera's fleet had been accomplished. Toral further delayed a decisive reply, and Shafter continued to humor him while our troops

to pass through our lines and encamp in the rear. On the same day General Miles arrived at the front, not, as was explained, to supersede Shafter, but for purposes of observation, previous to undertaking the campaign against Porto Rico. Negotiations went on until the 14th of July, when Toral at length agreed to surrender, provided his men were treated with the honors of war, and were sent home to Spain at the expense of the United States. So many of our men had ere this been prostrated by yellow and malarial fevers, and by the starvation to which they had been subjected from the outset of the campaign, that any terms were welcome to us. The surrender professed to include that part of Cuba east of Santiago, though the right of Toral to do this was afterward called in question. Shafter, having recovered from his indisposition, now went to the front, and rode into Santiago, with Wheeler and the other generals, and an adequate force of American troops. The Cubans were not represented, and General Garcia charged that Shafter had entirely ignored him and them in the negotiations, and had neglected to invite him to witness the surrender. The courteous diplomacy of General Miles alone averted a serious disagreement.

Our losses during the three days' fight were given as fifteen hundred and ninety-five men; over eight hundred of whom fell in the attack on San Juan, and half as many in the capture of El Caney. But before the men had been moved to the North, nearly five thousand had succumbed to fever—an entirely unnecessary sacrifice. Not only, as has been stated, were the accommodations on the ships which brought them to Montauk Point, on Long Island, scandalously deficient, but even after they arrived there, within a hundred miles of New York, they were restricted—sick, wounded and well alike—to food unfit to eat, such as rotten canned beef, mouldy hardtack, and bad and insufficient water; and for

exhaustion, as well as from the result of sickness contracted in Cuba; and had it not been for the efforts of persons in New York, and in the towns of Long Island neighboring to Montauk, and to the liberality of a few wealthy benefactors, the mortality would have been far greater. The 71st Regiment of Volunteers were the greatest sufferers; and some of their own officers, who had already made themselves conspicuous by their absence during the fighting at San Juan, unblushingly "requisitioned," for their own use or profit, food and supplies sent to individual soldiers in the regiment by their own families.

Let us, however, return to the 3d of July, and listen to the story of a victory upon which rests no cloud of any kind; the story of a naval victory worthy to stand beside that of Manila.

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At half-past nine on the morning of that day, the American fleet under the command of Admiral Sampson was stationed off the mouth of Santiago Harbor, where it had been for many a weary week. It consisted of the "New York," the flagship, with Sampson himself; the "Brooklyn," carrying Schley, the second in command; the "Oregon," Captain Clarke; the "Texas," Captain Philip; the "Iowa," Captain Robley Evans; the "Indiana," which, owing to her position at the beginning of the action, and her slow speed, was soon left behind in the running battle; and the "Gloucester," formerly the yacht "Corsair," property of J. P. Morgan and sold by him for her full value to the Government. This little boat was entirely unprotected, but had a good armament of rapid-fire guns which were effective at short range. One other vessel of the blockading fleet, the "Massachusetts," had run down to Guantanamo to coal. The



and the little "Gloucester," which in spite of her size and defenseless condition did some of the most useful work of the famous day. The "Vixen," another small auxiliary boat, finding that her position placed her between fires, passed through our line to the south, and there remained during the engagement; but rendered important service, together with the torpedo boat "Ericsson," in rescuing Spanish seamen from their burning ships. The "Iowa" and the "Indiana" were speedily left behind in the race, so that upon the "Oregon," "Brooklyn," "Texas" and "Gloucester" rested the chief laurels of the battle; and against them were arrayed the Spanish ships "Infanta Maria Teresa," "Cristobal Colon," "Vizcaya," "Almirante Oquendo," and the destroyers "Pluton" and "Furor," which came out in the rear of the procession, and fell to the share of the "Gloucester" before many minutes had passed. It will be seen, therefore, that the odds were on the side of the Spaniards, and had they fought instead of running away, the story of the battle might have been modified.

The positions of our ships in the line was as judicious as possible. The "Brooklyn," one of the fastest of our ships, was at the extreme west; the "New York," also fast, was at the extreme right; the "Oregon," which proved to be one of the fastest of all, was near the center, ready to move either way. The "Texas" was next to the "Brooklyn," and the "Iowa" and the "Indiana" were on either side of the "Oregon." Whether, therefore, the Spanish fleet on emerging should steer east or west, or whether they should steam straight ahead, or disperse in different directions, we were equally ready for them. Our distance from shore was from 4,000 to 6,000 yards, and as a whole we were within easy

miral Cervera had chosen that hour for his attempt: But what had induced him to make the attempt at all? His ships had been of great assistance in the defense of Santiago from the attack of the land forces on the two preceding days; and the doctrine of probabilities made him at least as safe in the battery-guarded and torpedo-intrenched harbor as he would be outside.

The first reason he afterward gave was, that he would rather be destroyed fighting gloriously than rust to pieces inside the harbor. The truth came out later—he acted in reluctant obedience to positive and repeated orders from Madrid. The Spanish government in the conflict with the Americans did not hope to win; all they wished was to be defeated in such a manner as to save the throne to the son of the Queen Regent.

Cervera having no alternative, made what preparations he could. He got all the available coal aboard his squadron, and had steam up so as to be able to move at full speed at once after getting clear of the harbor. His ships were nominally faster than ours, so that if he got a fair start, he might hope to get away with at least some of them. Meantime he would direct his concentrated fire, on emerging, at the vessel in our fleet whose speed he most feared, the “Brooklyn”; if she and one more were disabled, or crippled enough to diminish their pace, all might be well. The crews of the Spanish fleet betrayed an almost invincible reluctance to go forth to battle. But fortunately there was a great stock of Spanish wines in Santiago; and by dint of serving these to the men in unlimited quantities, until they were crazy drunk, and then keeping them to their work with loaded

hull of the "Merrimac" made the passage in the dark hours too dangerous. The ships were moving, when first seen, at the rate of about eight knots an hour. Our ships covered an arc some eight miles in length. The nearest to the Spanish fleet was the "Gloucester," and when she sighted the destroyers, she made straight for them. The "Vizcaya" was next to the "Maria Teresa," then came the "Colon," and then the "Oquendo." There was a space of about half a mile between each of them. The destroyers, "Pluton" and "Furor," were nearly three-quarters of a mile behind the "Oquendo." As the "Maria Teresa" cleared the headlands, she aimed her guns at the "Brooklyn," but the shots flew wide; the other ships, as they followed, imitated her example. The movements of our men, though taken by surprise, were so rapid that in eight minutes from the first alarm we were returning the Spanish fire; and our shots did not go wide, but reached their quarry. The sound of the guns had been heard by the "New York," several miles down the coast, and the admiral at once gave up the idea of a conversation with Shafter, turned his boat about, and started for his foe, flying the signal, quite unnecessarily of course, "Close in and attack." Schley's whole soul, and that of every captain under him, had been fixed from the first moment upon doing just that thing. Cervera had turned to the westward, and with his flying start had got well ahead. But the "Brooklyn" and "Texas" were hot upon his trail, and the "Oregon," starting at a tremendous speed, was rapidly overhauling them. The slower "Iowa" and "Indiana" gave the Spaniards their broadsides as they passed, and also sent some useful shots at the two destroyers, as they came out. But the "Gloucester" had taken the latter for

mander Wainwright gave all his energies to saving the lives of the crews of the wrecked vessels.

Meanwhile the chase was streaming off toward the west, beneath the high green mountains of the coast; and probably no more exciting chase, both to pursuers and pursued, ever took place. The Spaniards were flying for life; the Americans must either overtake and destroy them, or not only suffer the disgrace of losing their prey after all these tedious weeks of anxiety and suspense, but subject our coasts to the possible attacks of the enemy. As the two lines of ships sped onward, the Americans gradually crowded the Spaniards toward the shore; and it also began to be noticeable that our leading vessels were slowly closing upon their adversaries.

This may be ascribed to several causes. In the first place, the forced draught of the Spaniards was gradually getting exhausted, while our steam was gaining power. Again, the effect of our gunnery began to tell; it not only drove the Spanish gunners from their work, but it interfered with the running-power of the ships; and before the chase had lasted twenty minutes, several of them were on fire. In less than half an hour, the "Maria Teresa" and the "Oquendo" having received their coup de grace, turned and ran for the beach, seven miles from Morro, and there burned and blew up. There were left only the "Vizcaya" and the "Colon," the latter being ahead; and they made a final desperate effort. The "Vizcaya" found herself subjected to the fire of the "Brooklyn," "Oregon," "Texas," and even of the "Iowa," which was still within range. Just an hour after leaving the harbor, she struck, firing upon her ceased, and the work of life-saving began. In this the "Iowa" participated; for the "Colon," the only other Spanish ship, was by that time far away, pursued by the "Brooklyn" and "Oregon," both of

destruction of the "Maria Teresa" and "Oquendo" was due. Each of these had received the entire weight of steel from one or other of the "Iowa's" batteries, Evans's maneuvering of his vessel being a masterpiece of seamanship and strategy. He also contributed to the destruction of the destroyers. Nine times was he struck, twice seriously, but with no loss of life or casualty to his men.

While Evans was receiving on board the remains of the crew of the "Vizcaya," and afterward, from the "Gloucester," Admiral Cervera and his surviving officers, taken from the "Maria Teresa," the chase of the "Colon" continued. The "Oregon" now led the "Brooklyn," though the latter was close behind her; the "Texas" could not keep their pace; far behind her was coming the "New York," at a speed of over sixteen knots.

The "Colon" was not maintaining her reputation for speed; her average during the hours of the chase was but little over thirteen knots, though her record had been more than one and twenty. This must be laid to the gross carelessness and ignorance of her officers and crew; and they now paid for it with the loss of her. Gradually the ship fell back, and the "Oregon," looming terribly in her rear, fired a 13-inch shell which passed her and flung up a warning column of foam before her bows. The "Brooklyn" also over-shot her; and with this demonstration of his certain destruction, the "Colon's" captain, though he had not been struck by any disabling shots, decided that he had had enough. He turned inshore, eight and forty miles from Morro, making signals of surrender, and ran upon the beach at full speed. His surrender had made the ship the property of the United States by the laws of maritime war; yet her captain treacherously ordered the sea-valves to be opened, and she

she could be raised, and as she was practically uninjured, she would be an important addition to our navy.

The "Brooklyn" and the "Oregon" had been in the thick of the fight throughout; the latter, with her great speed and big guns, had perhaps done the more execution; but the "Brooklyn" carried forty-one scars; and it was on her deck that the only man killed in the entire battle, on the American side, fell; his name was G. H. Ellis, and his function was that of chief yeoman. The total result of the thousands of shots fired by the sailors on the Spanish ships, and the gunners in Morro and the shore batteries, was this one man killed and one wounded, and some fifty dents in our ships' armor. In this respect, the battle was that of Manila over again. Drunken men behind the guns cannot be expected to shoot straight; but the fact that during four hours' continuous firing less than threescore shots should have hit anything but the sea, seems apocryphal. Our men, on the other hand, wasted very little; and Schley, in his report of July 4th, remarks that he "never before witnessed such deadly and fatally accurate firing as was done by the ships as they closed in on the Spanish squadron. I have never served with a braver, better or worthier crew than that of the 'Brooklyn' during the combat, lasting from 9.30 A. M. until 1.15 P. M., much of the time under fire; they never flagged for a moment, and were apparently undisturbed by the storm of projectiles passing ahead, astern and over the ship. I am glad," he adds, "that I had an opportunity to contribute in the least to a victory that seems big enough for all of us."

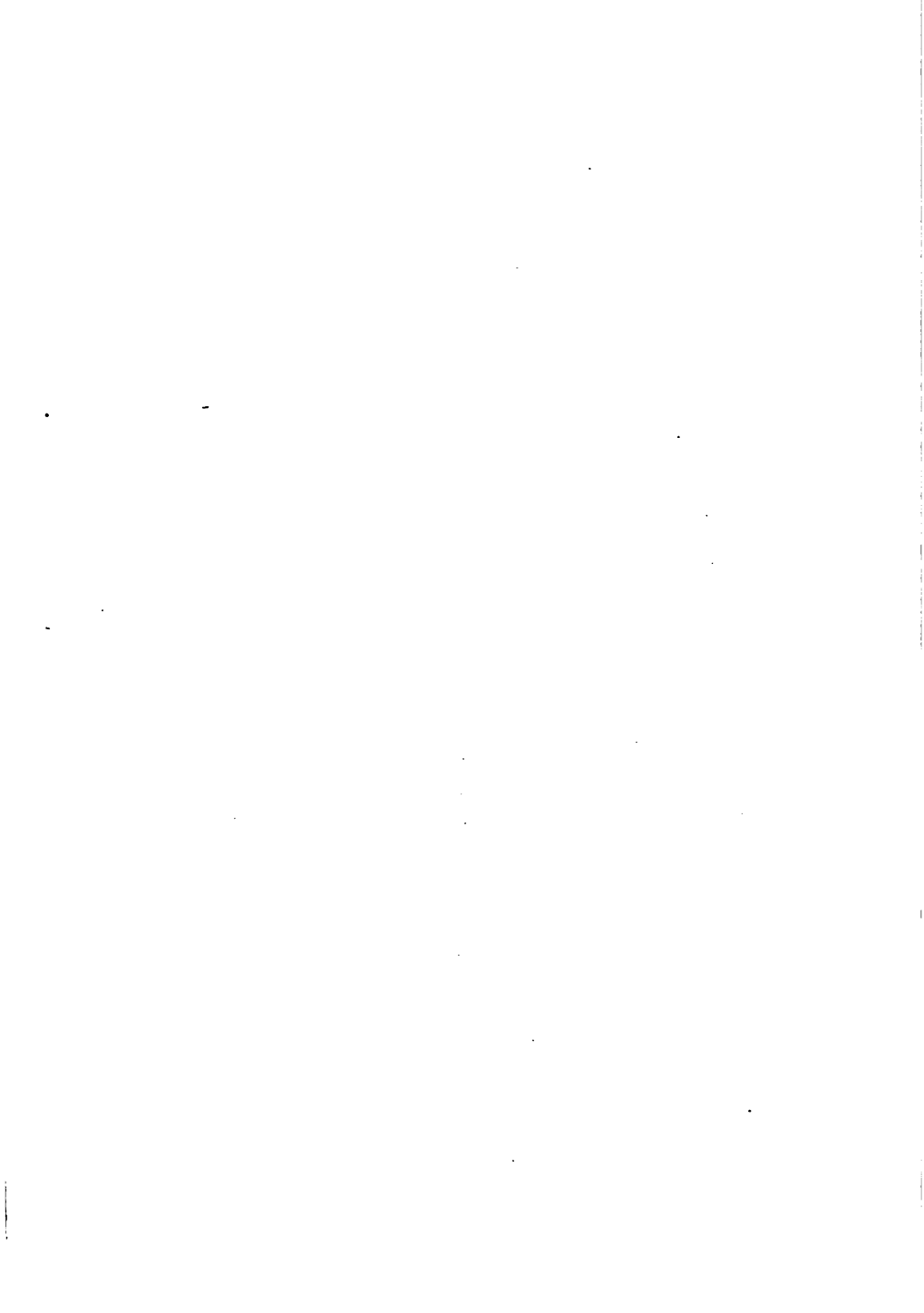
Two days after this success, the Newlands resolution passed the Senate, and on the 7th of July it received the President's signature. After five years of delay Hawaii was added to the

an American, a man of integrity and ability. From then until now, there has always been a majority in this country favoring annexation; and Dole and his Republic itself have been steady advocates of it. But the minority against it was active and wealthy, had long prevented action in Congress, and might have continued so to do indefinitely, had not the war with Spain occasioned Dewey's victory at Manila. Between Dewey and us stretched eight or nine thousand miles of sea; he needed re-enforcements, and they must be sent at once. By the neutrality laws, we could not coal or stop for any purpose at the independent Republic of Hawaii, and yet it would be well-nigh impossible to get to Manila with our transports without doing so. Of course, we could easily violate Hawaiian neutrality; but in that case, Hawaii and Spain would appeal to Europe, which would welcome any pretext for checking us; and the war might easily expand into a general conflict beyond our strength to handle. From this predicament we were delivered by the prompt action of President Dole himself, who refused to be neutral, and on the contrary opened his port to us for any purpose we might desire. It was, of course, a shrewd diplomatic stroke on Dole's part; but he was not the less actuated by motives truly patriotic. The enormous value of the island to us for strategic purposes was now too obvious to be denied, not to speak of other advantages; and the opponents of annexation had no longer any presentable leg to stand on. They maintained an obstructive fight for three weeks, being aided by Speaker Reed in the House, who had always been an enemy of the policy which most true patriots approved. But the stars in their courses were fighting to invest us with a colonial empire



Admiral Sampson's Fleet Saluting Grant's Tomb





Miles set out for Porto Rico on the 20th of July, and appeared off the little port of Guanico, fifteen miles west of Ponce, about a week later. It had been given out that his objective point was some place near San Juan, and such it may have been in the anticipation of the Board of Strategy at Washington; but Miles had ideas of his own, as Dewey had; and when he was once afloat and emancipated from telegraph offices, he undertook to carry them out. The general plan of his campaign seems to have been similar to that which he had designed to prosecute in Cuba; landing at the side of the island opposite to that of the city which he meant to attack, he would advance toward it, crossing the breadth of the island (about eighty miles), pushing the detached parties of the enemy before him, and accelerating their retreat by a flank movement on the right of his march.

On July 26th the expedition arrived from Guantanamo, Cuba, with four ships of war and eight troop-ships. The "Gloucester," one of the convoying squadron, fresh from its exploits before Santiago, entered the harbor early in the morning to reconnoiter. After a slight engagement all the enemy's forces were repulsed, and the American flag raised over the town. The transports then entered the harbor, and disembarkation was begun. Miles issued orders that all vessels detailed for the invasion should rendezvous at Guanico. The troops thus concentrated would amount in the aggregate to little less than thirty thousand men.

After setting outposts a few miles out, in order to keep the enemy at a proper distance, Miles dispatched Commander Davis of the "Dixie" to demand the surrender of Ponce, which was expected to involve some fighting. Ponce is the

As they drew near, covered by the guns of the American ships, they saw that the aspect of the crowd was not hostile; on the contrary there were heard shouts of welcome, and, as they mounted the steps of the landing, the people pressed forward with fruit, cigars and flowers, instead of weapons, in their hands. Curtin announced that he was there to receive the surrender of the town; being referred to the military commander, he said that the latter must come to him. He added that he would give him half an hour to capitulate; and with that he gave way to Davis, senior officer of the squadron, who now landed, and stood watch in hand. The capitulation was made within the specified time, and the Spanish soldiers forthwith fled to the hills, leaving most of their arms and ammunition behind them. Lieutenant Haines hoisted the American flag on the custom house, the people cheered, and the American troops, landing, were given an ovation. Thus fell the ancient town of Ponce, bloodlessly. The occupying troops were the 6th Pennsylvania and the 2d and 3d Wisconsin.

While this was going on, the brigade of General Ernst, at Guanico, had been pushed forward to Yauco, a small town three miles inland, commanding the military road to San Juan; and the town of Guanico, which lies some miles north of the port, was taken by General Henry with regiments of Massachusetts and Illinois troops, led by General Garretson, with a loss of three men wounded; the Spanish loss was four killed and thirteen wounded. A junction between Ernst's and Henry's troops was then effected; and the southern part of Porto Rico was already in American possession. General Miles made his headquarters at the Ponce custom house. There was general holiday among the inhabitants, the women

the purposes of the invasion, and calling upon the inhabitants to co-operate in their own emancipation. "This is not a war of devastation and dissolution," concluded our general, "but one to give all within the control of the military and naval forces the advantages and blessings of enlightened civilization." The effect of these assurances was shown by the response of the people. On July 31st Miles cabled to Washington that "four-fifths of the people are overjoyed at the arrival of the army. Two thousand from one place have volunteered to serve with it. They are bringing in transportation, beef, cattle, and other needed supplies. The custom house has already yielded \$14,000."

But in spite of all this cordiality and smoothness, there were Spaniards not far off. They were supposed to be from seven to nine thousand in number; but they were indisposed to risk a fight in the open, and were slowly falling back to Aibonito, a mountain town some thirty miles north of Ponce. It was here that the first battle of the campaign was likely to be fought. The road there twisted about through high mountain walls, and could be commanded by artillery from many points; and it was presently reported that the direct road had been extensively mined, with a view to blowing up the invading army as it approached. The American outpost having been fixed at Coamo, a few miles south of Aibonito, an interval of time elapsed during which the rest of our troops disembarked, and dispositions were made to attack Aibonito from several points at once. On the 2d of August, General Brooke, who had landed at Guayamo, east of Ponce, whence there was a good military road to Aibonito, marched with five thousand troops to positions in the rear of the

On the 7th of August there was a general advance along all the American lines. General Wilson established his headquarters at Juana Diaz; General Schwann moved through Yanco toward Mayaguez, and General Brooke with ten thousand men advanced northward from Guayamo.

On the 12th of August General Wilson's column was five miles beyond Coamo, in sight of the Spanish defences of Aibonito, which were seen to be of great strength, including seven lines of intrenchments, and a battery of two guns. Wilson sent forward one light battery to shell this position. As our guns rounded a curve of the road, about two thousand yards from the enemy, the latter opened with a heavy infantry and artillery fire, in the face of which the light battery unlimbered and began firing, soon silencing one of the Spanish guns. One of our men was killed and two wounded, all by shrapnel, and two were wounded by Mauser bullets. A gun of our battery was now sent forward four hundred yards; but before it could reach its appointed position, the Spanish received a re-enforcement of infantry, and poured a severe fire on our gun, compelling the battery to retire. Lieutenant Haines was shot in the body by a Mauser bullet just before this episode; and, so far as is known, he was the last American to be wounded in the war. For it was on this very day that news of the conclusion of the preliminary peace negotiations, which had been in progress for upward of a week, reached the front, and General Wilson at once sent forward a flag of truce, apprising the Spanish commander of the cessation of hostilities. A battle, which would probably have cost many lives and for which we were just prepared, was therefore avoided; and General Miles's campaign can be judged from its preliminary

to his troops. But Spain had had enough, and the war was over. It turned out later that the Spanish in Aibonito were entirely dependent upon Cayey for their food supply; and that had General Brooke occupied that town before the armistice, they must at once have succumbed.

The terms of peace mentioned in the protocol as agreeable to us were moderate in the extreme: Cuba was to be free, under the government of the Cubans, and the Spaniards were to evacuate it. They were also to evacuate Porto Rico, which was to become our property; in short, the West Indies was to know Spain no more. Their flag was also to disappear from the Ladronez Group in the Pacific; but room was left for negotiation as regarded the Philippines. This question was finally settled by the United States assuming sovereignty over the entire archipelago and paying Spain \$20,000,000 for its public buildings and armaments.

## CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHTH

### *THE TWENTIETH CENTURY*

**G**REATEST of the problems which confronted this Nation at the conclusion of the war with Spain was what to do with the Philippines, for our Government, almost willy-nilly, found itself encumbered with those islands. At once the voice of "anti-imperialism" was raised in a few scattered parts of the country, frantically protesting against doing anything or trying to do anything with the Philippines, shouting in a frenzy of fear and indignation that "the white man's burden" of carrying civilization to alien races was no concern of ours, that America was not called upon to take any part in bearing that burden, but had best leave the little brown men to their fate. Such counsels could not prevail, and did not have much influence on the Government at Washington or on the great majority of the American people. The number of the "anti-imperialists" was too small to be worthy of the designation of a party, though a few well-meaning but misguided men, chiefly in New England, tried to agitate such a new party into existence. An unmistakable undercurrent of feeling ran through the land, and was shared by a vast majority, that whether we liked it or not the Philippine Islands had been thrown upon our hands, and for some time to come at any rate were inextricably bound

establishing in the course of time a new and sovereign nation in the Orient. They could not foresee at what cost this could be accomplished or how long a time it might take; and in those days immediately following the war they did not receive any too much credit for entertaining such ideas.

It soon became evident that the first part of the complicated problem would be to bring peace and order to the islands. The Filipinos had been in insurrection against the Spaniards before Commodore Dewey's fleet sailed from Hong Kong for Manila, and the exile Emilio Aguinaldo, who had been the leader of a rebellion against Spain in 1896, was taken to Cavité on board the "McCulloch" and allowed to land, on May 19, 1898, for the purpose of organizing an army to co-operate with the American forces in fighting Spain. But Admiral Dewey, who personally had disapproved of taking him along, made no alliance with Aguinaldo and gave him no promise of independence. The Filipino soldiers who had served in the Spanish army joined Aguinaldo, and soon had the Island of Luzon, with the exception of Manila, under subjection. On the arrival of the first American troops under General Anderson, July 15, 1898, Aguinaldo was asked to evacuate Cavité. He did so, at the same time issuing a proclamation promising independence to the people of the Philippines in the name of the American Government. He had already declared himself the provisional President and Dictator of the Philippine Republic and had appointed a civil cabinet. His forces were not strong enough to prevent the landing of the American troops at Paranaque, as he would have liked to do, so he determined to await the fall of Manila, enter the city with the American soldiers, seize the arms of



work it had to do and cleared the vicinity of the insurrectionists, killing about 500, wounding 1,000, and taking 500 prisoners, in the course of several days' fighting, with a loss of 57 killed and 215 wounded. The Filipinos lost heavily again in the battle of Caloccan, February 10. American commanders soon learned the treacherous nature of their opponents, who hid their arms when the Americans occupied the country and afterward attacked small bodies of men and supply-trains. Before the complete overthrow of Spain Aguinaldo had sent garrisons to seize and occupy the chief posts in Panay, Cebu, Leyte, and other islands, and to impose taxes. He also made allies of the mountain bandits who preyed on the agricultural districts. The feeling of hostility to the United States was confined chiefly to the ten Tagal provinces. Anti-imperialist agitation in America led Aguinaldo to hope that his Philippine Republic would be recognized in the end, and his promises to them of dominion over the whole archipelago kept the Tagalogs generally faithful to him. On February 11 General Miller captured Iloilo. On March 27 a naval expedition was sent to Cebu, and the natives of that island welcomed the Americans, as did also a little later those of Negros and other smaller islands. But the repeated assurances of General Otis that the friendly protection of the United States was necessary for the welfare and happiness of the people of the Philippines had no effect on Aguinaldo and his associated Tagalog politicians.

In January President McKinley had appointed a Philippine Commission to investigate conditions in the islands and report to the President. This was headed by Jacob Gould Schurman, president of Cornell University, and its other mem-

only their own ruin. It assured the enjoyment of civil rights, religious liberty, and equal standing before the law, to all the people of the Philippines. But this had no effect on the insurgents. Hostilities continued, most of the fighting taking place within fifty miles of Manila. For the first nine months of the year the American forces made small headway in the rest of Luzon, the rainy season making operations extremely difficult a large part of the time. More rapid progress was made in the autumn and winter. Northward advances by Generals Lawton and MacArthur broke up the insurgent army, and Aguinaldo fled to Bayombong. A force of 1,200 insurgents which attempted to make a stand at San Jacinto was routed by the 33d Volunteer Regiment, Major John A. Logan and six men being killed in the engagement. On November 29 the remnant of the Filipino army was defeated by General Bell's forces in the mountains south of Lingayen, quantities of stores, ammunition and artillery were captured and a powder mill was destroyed. Aguinaldo was pursued over the mountains, but escaped, though of his body-guard of sixty all but eight were killed or captured. The fighting now deteriorated into guerrilla warfare, for which the condition of the country was especially well adapted. In rapid succession the ports of Subig Bay, Cavité, and Aparri were occupied by naval detachments, and military garrisons were left in the principal towns along the routes followed by Generals Lawton, MacArthur and Wheaton. General Lawton was particularly successful in meeting the guerrilla tactics of the small fighting bands in the south of the island with skirmishing methods such as had been used in fighting the American Indians, until he was killed by a rebel sharpshooter in an insignificant action at San Mateo, on December 19.

States forces be withdrawn government would speedily lapse into anarchy. Only through American occupation was any idea of a free, united, and self-governing Philippine commonwealth at all conceivable. On December 11 the ports of the Philippines were declared open to commerce.

Spanish sovereignty in Cuba was definitely ended on January 1, 1899, when the American flag was raised at all military posts on the island, General John R. Brooke, U. S. A., assuming the duties of military governor. On February 1, the United States flag was raised on the Island of Guam, in the Ladrone Archipelago, Commander Taussig of the gunboat "Bennington" being installed as temporary governor. The treaty of peace with Spain was signed by the President on February 10, was ratified by the Spanish cabinet on February 15, and signed by the Queen Regent on the 17th. By its terms the United States took over the Philippine Islands, and paid Spain an indemnity of \$20,000,000. Toward the end of the year America's foreign possessions were still further augmented by the acquisition of Tutuila Island, as a result of an agreement entered into by our Government with Great Britain and Germany, on November 27, for the friendly partition of the Samoan Islands.

At home a deal of public attention was aroused in the early part of the year by scandals connected with the war with Spain. A court-martial convicted Commissary-general Charles P. Eagan of insubordination and conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman, and recommended his dismissal from the service. The President suspended him for the remaining six years of his term of service, and later "retired" him at his own request. A court of inquiry which in-

application of whitewash; and public opinion continued to be so inflamed over the scandal that Mr. Alger was induced to resign the war portfolio on July 19. Elihu Root was appointed Secretary of War in his place and took up the duties of the office on August 1. In 1909 labor troubles developed into several bad strikes, the most serious of which was that of the union miners of the Cœur d'Alene district in Idaho, where several men were killed and some \$250,000 worth of property was destroyed before the Federal troops, rushed into the district on orders from Washington, quelled the rioters.

Throughout the greater part of the year 1900 the guerrilla warfare in the Philippines continued. By September 1, 1900, there were no less than 413 military stations in the islands. Regular combats of course had ceased to be fought by the beginning of the year, or this wide extension of the field of operations would have been impossible; but the insurgents were still strong enough to harass the garrisons constantly, and their acts of vengeance and rapine on the natives who were friendly to the American forces necessitated the greatest vigilance and activity on the part of the army of occupation. On June 21, by direction of the President, General MacArthur issued a proclamation granting amnesty to all the insurgents who were willing to submit. Many leaders accepted the offer, and several thousand insurgents gave up their arms. Aguinaldo and his closest followers held off to await the result of the election in the United States; for the Democratic party under the domination of William J. Bryan was toying with the issue of "anti-imperialism." The Philippine Commission reported to the President on January 10, recommending the appointment of an American governor, to be assisted by a council of both natives and Americans, and of American provincial governors; and suggesting a legislative assembly whose acts should be subject to veto by the

approval of the military authorities, and to formulate plans for the civil rule to follow the military occupation as soon as order should be established. Judge William Howard Taft of Ohio was named as president of this new commission, and his associates were Dean C. Worcester, Luke E. Wright, Henry C. Ide, and Bernard Moses. In its first legislative session the commission voted \$2,000,000 silver for the construction of roads and bridges, \$5,000 for the preliminary survey of a proposed railroad from Dagupan to Benguet, and \$5,400 for schools. It also enacted a law making ineligible to public office any person found in arms against the United States authority after March 1, 1901, or found aiding or abetting the insurrectionists.

A Cuban constitutional convention, elected by the people, was opened on November 6, 1900, by Governor-general Wood. This convention, composed of 31 delegates, took an oath renouncing allegiance to or compact with any state or nation, swearing to uphold the sovereignty of the free and independent people of Cuba and to respect the constitution that the convention should adopt and the government to be established thereby. The constitution, modeled upon that of the United States, was completed and accepted by the convention on February 11, 1901.

At the beginning of the year 1900 a state of lawlessness in Kentucky resulted in the murder of William Goebel, unsuccessful Democratic candidate for governor, who was contesting the election. Governor Taylor at once declared that a state of insurrection existed. The mortally wounded Goebel was sworn in by the Democratic members of the legislature, on January 31, but died on February 3. His assassination was one of the worst political murders in the history of the nation, and plunged Kentucky into a political feud from the effects

destroyed the Island City. This was one of the worst calamities in the nation's annals. Several thousand lives were lost, thousands of buildings and many millions of dollars' worth of property were destroyed. The property loss was estimated at more than \$17,000,000, the United States Government itself being a loser to the extent of \$3,000,000. More than 4,000 homes were utterly obliterated. For more than thirty miles along the coast the country was flooded for several miles inland, and the losses of life and property were heavy. In September 112,000 coal miners in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania were embroiled in strikes over the wage scale, but this disturbance was practically ended by October 30th by an agreement to hold till the following April. The political conventions of the year commanded large attention. There were many minor parties in the field, with a surprising variety of freak issues and platforms. The Social Democrats nominated Eugene V. Debs for President; the "Union Reform" party named Seth H. Ellis; a new party known as the "United Christian" party, after its first nominee Silas P. Swallow withdrew, named Jonah F. R. Leonard; the Populists nominated Wharton Barker; the Socialist Labor party named Joseph F. Malloney; John G. Woolley was the nominee of the Prohibitionists; the Democratic party nominated William J. Bryan for President and Adlai E. Stevenson for Vice-president; President McKinley was renominated unanimously by the Republicans, and Theodore Roosevelt, at the time Governor of New York and desirous of a second term in that office, was named for Vice-president, receiving on the first ballot every vote cast except his own, even after he had published a request that

1900, and the enumeration as of June 1 showed a total population for the States and Territories making up the Union of 76,303,387; the count covered a greater area than had been included in any previous census, but did not include the new island possessions of Porto Rico, Tutuila, Guam, and the Philippines, which had an aggregate population of about 10,000,000. Every State and Territory except Nevada had increased in population in the decade since the last preceding census. The average gain for the whole country was 21 per cent., and included gains as high as 518 per cent. for Oklahoma; 117 per cent. for Indian Territory; 88 per cent. for Idaho; and 75 per cent. for Montana. The smallest gain was made by Nebraska, with 0.7 per cent. Nevada lost 11 per cent. The greatest absolute increases in population were: New York, 1,265,257; Pennsylvania, 1,044,020; Illinois, 995,197; and Texas, 813,187. The smallest increases were: Nebraska, 7,390; Vermont, 11,219; and Delaware, 16,242. Nevada's decrease in population was shown to be 5,099.

By the beginning of the year 1901 American army posts had been established in all parts of the Philippines; the forces in the islands numbered about 60,000 soldiers and a small naval detachment. Extraordinary activity on the part of the insurrectionists had subsided as soon as the result of the election of 1900 in the United States became known, and the majority of the Filipinos in arms gradually surrendered. The greatest difficulty was that of watching the coasts; and the few hostile natives still continuing in active opposition when driven from one island went to another and began operations afresh, expending their energies chiefly in attacking the lines of communication. On March 23 Brigadier-general Frederick Funston with the aid of native scouts captured Aguinaldo and took him to Manila, where he took an oath

in various parts of the islands made it necessary for the Government at Washington to send out fresh troops to replace those whose terms of service had expired. On June 21 President McKinley's order establishing civil government in the Philippines and appointing Judge Taft as Governor was promulgated. General Chaffee was appointed Military Governor in place of General MacArthur. On July 4 the new civil government was inaugurated with William Howard Taft as the first American Civil Governor.

At this time America was called upon to take a still larger share in the affairs of the Orient by reason of the anti-foreign disturbances in China. The inconsiderate proceedings of some of the Christian missionaries and still more the greedy aggressions of certain European Powers in China (English newspapers printed there in the interests of British trade had even gone so far as openly to discuss the "partition" of the Celestial Empire among the foreign Powers) had fanned the Chinese innate dislike of foreigners into a fury of hatred in certain provinces and caused the formation of the secret society of *I-ho Ch'uan*, literally the "Fist of Righteous Harmony" and more familiarly known as the "Boxers," a sort of volunteer militia which set out in the spring of 1900 to drive out of the Empire all the "foreign devils." They marched to Peking, murdering Christian converts on the way, destroyed the railroad and telegraph lines as they advanced, and entered the capital on June 13, where they threatened the foreign legations and inaugurated a reign of terror. The chancellor of the Japanese legation was killed, and after guards of the German legation had shot down a Chinese supposed by them to be a "Boxer," Baron von Ket-



ports. The powerful Dowager Empress Tze-Hsi, in alarm for the safety of the Empire, threw the weight of her influence with the "Boxers." Instead of accepting their passports and demanding safe conduct to the sea, the foreign diplomats shut themselves up in the British legation, fortifying it as best they could, and there they were besieged for nearly two months, while Peking remained cut off from all communication with the outside world. A first relief expedition under the British Admiral Sir John Seymour got to within forty miles of the capital, when, finding the railroad destroyed and lacking adequate supplies and transport facilities, it was forced to turn back. An allied army of relief composed of Japanese, Russian, British, American and French troops and consisting of a total of about 18,000 men, was then sent forward and reached Peking on August 14. This met with comparatively small resistance. The Court fled, first naming the Viceroy Li Hung Chang, at Canton, as peace commissioner to treat with the allies. The European troops looted the capital. What with petty bickerings among the allies and the difficulties of reaching any agreement with the Chinese, the negotiations for peace were long drawn out, but by the end of the year the ultimatum of the Powers was accepted. The protocol agreed to provide money indemnities, aggregating some \$333,000,000, to be distributed with apologies to the governments and individuals injured by the uprising, the destruction of the forts between Peking and the sea, military occupation by the Powers of certain places, and a revision of commercial treaties. The last of the foreign troops were withdrawn in September, 1901. Throughout the whole affair the United States exerted her growing influence as a world power in favor of moderation and fair dealing. The policy of the American Government, politely but firmly

partial trade relations with all the world. At the beginning of the crisis Admiral Kempf, to his lasting credit and the honor of this nation, refused to join with the European naval commanders in demanding the surrender of the Taku forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho, because to do so would be an act of war against a friendly Power; and the American soldiers in Peking refrained from the disgraceful acts of vandalism and despoliation freely indulged in by the other foreign troops, and for the most part behaved themselves in an exemplary manner. In 1908, when an arbitration treaty was made with China, the Congress reduced by about one-half the indemnity of \$24,440,778 imposed on China by this Government on account of the Boxer outrages, and the Chinese Government, greatly pleased, announced that it would use the sum remitted for the purpose of sending Chinese students to the United States.

At the end of the summer of 1901 President McKinley, accompanied by his wife and several members of the Cabinet, visited the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. There on September 5 he delivered a notable address permeated with his ripe political wisdom and announcing the policy of the Government under his second administration which had begun only six months before. This was a clear and sound statement of the problems involved in the new position the nation had taken in the world, and it stirred the whole people like a bugle-call, being recognized at once throughout the land as the most masterly utterance that William McKinley had ever made. The next day the civilized world was inexpressibly shocked to learn that the President had been attacked by an assassin. On September 6, while extending the hand of fellowship to all comers at a public reception in his

two pistol shots from under the cover of a bandage. One bullet lodged in McKinley's breast and the other penetrated his abdomen. The first was extracted at once by the best surgeons who could be summoned quickly, and though the second bullet was not found the President rallied so well that for several days his recovery was expected. At the end of a week, however, it was found that the abdominal wound had gangrened, and early on the morning of September 14 he died, with a brave and noble resignation, uttering the words: "It is God's way; His will be done." For the third time, and within less than forty years, the Republic had suffered the loss of its Chief Magistrate at the hands of the assassin. President Lincoln fell a victim to the hatred rankling in the breasts of a small group of malcontents after four years of civil war. President Garfield lost his life to satisfy the personal vengeance of a disappointed office-seeker. Here, it was universally felt, was an even more sinister crime. President McKinley probably did not have a personal enemy in the world; no President before him had ever enjoyed so great a popularity throughout the land in his term of office, and the death of no other had ever been so universally mourned: in the decades since the Civil War the Republic had been welded into an unbreakable union, and under his administration the process of unification had become complete. The weak-brained Anarchist who murdered this good man, a man whose political opponents promptly joined with his political associates in bearing tribute to "the broad kindliness of his nature, the sweetness and gentleness of his character," had no personal grievance against President

nessed his crime. In no sense was the deed of this Anarchist committed on behalf of any part of the people against the Government—which was obliged at the moment to exert its police power to save him from instant death at the hands of the people—and that deed did not cause any dislocation in the American governmental system. Upon the death of McKinley, Vice-president Roosevelt became President, taking the oath of office at Buffalo on the day President McKinley died. He retained the Cabinet of his predecessor and at once announced his determination to continue unaltered the late President's policy of administration.

The four years and a half of McKinley's tenure of the Presidency was a period of unprecedented commercial development and prosperity, and this trade expansion was signalized by the growth in all parts of the country of a strong movement looking to the curbing of the monopolistic tendencies of large corporations, commonly called trusts. Although organized in some one State, these combinations of capital were effected for the transaction of business in many States, and indeed often did very little business in the State where they were incorporated. Many State laws were enacted to regulate the formation and operation of such large combinations of capital, but these State laws lacked uniformity; and as no single State could have any exclusive interest in or power over their acts adequate regulation through State enactments was seen to be an impossibility. The formation of trusts continued and increased. President Roosevelt's first message to the Congress, submitted at the beginning of the first session of the Fifty-seventh Congress, on December 3, 1901, took up this subject, urged Federal supervision and

Supreme Court and Court of Appeals left no doubt of the power of the Federal Government to prevent combinations among railways or manufacturing corporations engaged in interstate commerce which are created for the purpose of securing monopoly, or which in actual practice do tend toward the restraint of trade. Perhaps the most interesting and important of these court decisions was that in the case of the Northern Securities Company. This creation of Mr. James J. Hill and his associates was a merger of various transcontinental railroad stocks which grew out of a Wall Street panic caused by a "corner" in Northern Pacific stock on May 9, 1901, when many operators were caught short of that stock, which that day soared to \$1,000 a share. The contest ended for the time being with the Union Pacific party in control of a majority of the preferred stock. This stock the Northern Pacific directors attempted to retire on January 1, 1902. A long legal battle ensued, which finally resulted in the formation of a holding company for the stocks of all the railroads involved: the Northern Securities Company, incorporated under the laws of the State of New Jersey, with a capital of \$400,000,000, for the alleged purpose of controlling the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroad companies, two parallel and competing lines extending across the northern tier of States from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. The governors of several of the States most deeply concerned met and petitioned the National Government to enforce the anti-trust law against the combination. Thereupon the Government began a suit in equity to test the validity of the merger, and on April 9, 1903, the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, at St. Paul, decided that the

porations for the supervision of an investigation into the organization and conduct of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. The President appointed his secretary, Mr. George B. Cortelyou, as the first Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and under him Mr. James R. Garfield, a son of President Garfield, as the first Commissioner of Corporations. In this connection it should be mentioned that the powers of the Interstate Commerce Commission have been increased from time to time in the last decade; and by these various means the great railroads of the country and other giant corporations conducting trade throughout the Union have been brought more and more under Governmental control, or regulation, and it has become more and more difficult for monopolies to exist or unjust discriminations on any large scale in trade and transportation to be carried out. Special privilege under our Government, the greatest menace to American institutions, has not yet been eradicated, but wholesome progress has been made in that direction.

Another subject of great consequence to the American people which President Roosevelt was called upon to take up when the reins of government dropped from the hands of the murdered McKinley was that of the building of a canal across the Isthmus connecting North and South America. Transit across the Isthmus of Panama had been a question of moment to the commercial world ever since the planting of Spanish colonies in the Western Hemisphere. The scheme of an inter-oceanic canal was suggested as early as 1520, and again by Champlain later in the sixteenth century, but did not attract serious attention till some three hundred years later. After 1828 various surveys and explorations were made for determining the feasibility of such a canal. Several routes were suggested as available, but in the course of a few years

formed plans for completing the system by the construction of a canal. Those plans were never carried out, because of various complications, some of them of an international character. It was at that time that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was made between the United States and Great Britain, stipulating dual policing and the joint guaranty of neutrality for the proposed canal. Since then there have been several projects for building a canal by the Nicaragua route. Complete surveys of both routes made by the United States in 1872-75 resulted in proving the superior advantages of the Panama route; but before any decisive action had been taken by this Government, a Frenchman named Wyse secured from the Colombian Government a concession for building an interoceanic canal. He interested Ferdinand de Lesseps in the scheme, and under the auspices of M. de Lesseps an international scientific congress, which met in Paris in May, 1879, decided on the Panama route—following practically the railway from Colon to Panama City—and on a sea-level canal, having a depth of 29.5 feet, a bottom width of 72 feet, and a length of about 47 miles. A Panama Canal Company was formed with M. de Lesseps as president, the Wyse concession was bought, and work begun in October, 1881. An "international technical committee" had estimated the cost at \$169,000,000. Later it was found that a sea-level canal could not be built in the time specified and also that the estimate of cost was absurdly low. Plans for a lock canal were substituted. The French company made many mistakes, met with many discouragements, and finally abandoned work for lack of funds, in March, 1889. Bribery was resorted to in order to obtain fresh funds; several members of the Chamber

tended in 1900 by six years, so as to terminate in April, 1910, by which time it was estimated the canal could be finished. Twelve miles of the canal had been so far finished by the French companies as to be navigable.

After the close of the Spanish war, in 1899, President McKinley was authorized by Congress to appoint a commission of engineers to investigate the whole question of Isthmian canal possibilities. This commission, after exhaustive investigations, reported in favor of the Nicaragua route, mainly on financial grounds; but on the offer of the French Panama Company to sell to the United States its property and franchises for \$40,000,000, their value as estimated by the commission, a supplementary report was made recommending acceptance of the offer and completion of the Panama Canal. Meanwhile, after long and vexatious negotiations, a new convention between the United States and Great Britain had been ratified on December 16, 1901. Secretary of State John Hay had secured from Great Britain a recognition of the sole right of the United States to build, maintain, and police the canal; Great Britain withdrawing her claim to a joint guaranty of the neutrality of the canal on the agreement of the United States to accept substantially the rules governing the free navigation of the Suez Canal. Thus the Hay-Pauncefote treaty superseded and abrogated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. By act of Congress on June 28, 1902, the President was empowered to acquire the rights and property of the French Panama Company and authorized to purchase from the Republic of Colombia the necessary territory and build the canal at a cost of not more than \$130,000,000. On January 22, 1903, a treaty between the United States and



gress in August, 1903, led to the declaration of independence by the State of Panama, on November 4, 1903. A few days later the American Government recognized the new republic, and on November 18 a canal treaty between the United States and Panama was signed. This was ratified on February 23, 1904. The terms of payment by this Government were the same as those offered to Colombia in the Hay-Herran treaty, as detailed above, and in return Panama agreed to the construction and maintenance of the canal as follows: Panama grants in perpetuity the use of a zone across the Isthmus measuring ten miles wide and having the canal route as its center line, and within this zone the exclusive control for police, judicial, sanitary, and other purposes. Other territory is ceded for subsidiary canals. For the defence of the canal the coast line of the zone and the islands in Panama Bay are ceded. The cities of Colon and Panama remain under authority of Panama, but the United States has complete jurisdiction in both cities and in their harbors in all affairs of sanitation and quarantine. The transfer from the French Panama Canal Company to the United States Government was completed in May, 1904. President Roosevelt appointed an Isthmian Canal Commission to take charge of the building of the canal and the government of the Canal Zone. This commission remained in office until April, 1905, when a new commission was named. A Board of Consulting Engineers, appointed June 24, 1905, and composed of eminent engineers of America, England, France, Germany, and the Netherlands—the foreign representatives being appointed by their respective governments on the invitation of the President—reported in January, 1906, favoring a sea-level plan as opposed to a lock canal, by a vote of eight to five. The President recommended the lock type of canal and this was

Colon, to the Pacific terminus in Panama Bay. The Isthmus here runs nearly east and west, but the course of the canal is from northwest to southeast, the Pacific terminus being about 20 miles farther east than that of the Atlantic. The highest point of the divide, Mt. Culebra, originally about 330 feet above the sea, has been cut to about 160 feet. Beginning on the Atlantic shore-line, the canal has a width of 500 feet for three miles to Gatun. At Gatun a duplicate flight of three locks, having a lift of  $28\frac{1}{3}$  feet each, will lift vessels up to a lake formed by a dam at that point. This lake contains 118 square miles, is thirty miles long, and at places nearly eight miles wide. From the Gatun locks, the steamer channel will be through this lake for about 23 miles, and for sixteen miles it will have a width of 1,000 feet. From San Pablo to Juan Grande, it will be narrowed to 800 feet; then to 500 feet to Bas Obispo; then to 300 feet, the width maintained through the Culebra cut, and on to San Miguel. Here a lock with a lift and descent of 30 feet forms the connection with Sosa Lake, 55 feet above the sea, where vessels will again have lake navigation for five miles to Sosa Hill, in which are two locks of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  feet each to carry vessels down to the sea level of the Panama Bay section of the canal. Sosa Lake is formed by a system of dams across the Rio Grande near La Boca. The building of this canal is the greatest single task in engineering yet undertaken by any government in the history of the world. Its completion is now expected by the year 1915, and its total cost to this Government will be \$375,201,000.

In these brief outlines of the Government's activities in

eral Frederick D. Grant on April 27. From the beginning of hostilities at Manila on February 4, 1899, to April 30, 1902, there had been 2,651 engagements with the enemy, mostly consisting of skirmishes by small detachments or attacks from ambush on the American troops. The average strength of the army in the islands had been about 40,000 men. Casualties to the United States forces had included 69 officers and 936 enlisted men killed in battle (including those who died of their wounds); 6 officers and 125 men killed by accidents; 6 officers and 257 men drowned; 1 officer and 91 men murdered; 47 officers and 2,535 men killed by disease. The total number of deaths had been 139 officers and 4,016 enlisted men; and 190 officers and 2,707 enlisted men had been wounded. The cost of the war had mounted to \$170,326,586. On July 4, 1902, peace was proclaimed and civil government was established throughout the Philippines, except in the southern islands of the Moros. The President's proclamation included amnesty for Filipino political prisoners, and Aguinaldo and the other officers of the revolutionary junta who were in confinement took oath of allegiance to the American Government and were set at liberty. The army was now reduced to 27,000 men, and for the year 1903 to 17,000. Ugly rumors became rife of cruelty to the natives on the part of some of the American soldiers. A court-martial at Manila, ordered by the President on April 22, convicted General Jacob H. Smith, familiarly known among his associates as "Hell-Roaring Jake," of cruel and inhuman treatment toward certain Filipinos in Samar and of having issued to his men orders to "kill and burn." On July 16 he was rep-

a school teacher in New York State and had headed the Cuban junta in America during the Spanish-American War, was elected as the first president of the new Republic of Cuba. At his inauguration on May 20, Governor-General Wood turned over the reins of government to him, hauled down the American flag, and that afternoon sailed from the island with the United States troops.

In April, 1902, the Congress placed a blot on the record of this nation's friendship with and honorable treatment of the great Empire of China, by enacting a law strictly forbidding all Chinese immigration and regulating harshly the residence of all Chinese already in this country. This new law not only reenacted the old regulations excluding from the United States Chinese laborers of the coolie class, but went to the extreme of excluding Chinese students, business men and professional men of all kinds, and extended the operation of the law to the island territory under the jurisdiction of the United States. The grasping greed of "American Labor" had overreached itself, and that its exactions in this case were not only fraught with grave injustice and wrong to the people of China but also with danger of serious injury to this nation was soon shown by a well organized boycott against American goods of whatsoever kind in China, which was started solely by the resentment felt by the students and merchants of China, by all the Chinese leaders, against the harshness of this new American law toward educated Chinese of the professional and business classes.

The summer of 1902 brought the most serious labor trouble, the most formidable industrial deadlock in the history of the country, and a coal famine throughout the eastern half

the operators refused their demands. Nearly all such miners belonged to the union, and without them the mines could not be worked. Out of the 147,000 miners engaged in the strike, 120,000 belonged to the union. As the summer wore on and the failure of the coal supply became more and more a matter of vital concern to the whole public, various demands were made for the settlement of the trouble, but without avail. A personal investigation made at the President's direction by the Commissioner of Labor, Carroll D. Wright; repeated conferences of various interests most vitally affected; a conference of the heads of the coal roads, the leading operators, and the president of the miners' union, called to the White House in Washington by President Roosevelt; all these failed of any definite result. Finally, in October, Mr. J. P. Morgan, who had been recognized for several years as the ablest and most influential of American financiers, secured the consent of the coal operators to the intervention of President Roosevelt, who, acting as a private citizen and not in any governmental capacity, persuaded both sides to submit their differences to arbitration, and appointed as a board of arbitrators: Brigadier-General John M. Wilson, U. S. A.; Edward W. Parker, mining engineer; Judge George Gray of the U. S. Circuit Court; Edgar E. Clark, sociologist; Thomas H. Watkins, retired coal merchant; the Right Rev. John L. Spalding, Roman Catholic Bishop of Peoria; and Carroll D. Wright, United States Commissioner of Labor. This Commission met at Washington on October 14, and on that day the striking miners returned to work at the old scale of wages pending a

miners themselves suffered the heavier real loss, inasmuch as the operators indemnified themselves for their loss from the consuming public by a long period of high prices for coal.

Gratifying incidents of this year were the proof of the practicability for successful work of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, and two concomitant diplomatic victories for the United States. This Government and that of Mexico were the first to use the good offices of The Hague Tribunal, submitting for its adjudication the case of a claim over which there had been a long-standing disagreement, known as the "Pious Fund" case, which was decided in favor of the United States; as was also another against Russia in its claim for the seizure of vessels in Behring Sea. Another notable event at the end of the year was the laying of a Pacific cable to the Hawaiian Islands and the opening of telegraphic communication with Honolulu, which is about the same distance from San Francisco as New York is from Liverpool. The cable steamship "Silvertown," which laid the section of the Pacific cable between San Francisco and Honolulu, sailed from San Francisco on December 14, 1902, and reached Honolulu on the last day of the year. On January 1, 1903, the connection was established, and the first message—one of congratulations and New Year's greetings to President Roosevelt from the people of Honolulu—was sent over the wire.

The year 1903 also brought its important diplomatic success in the settlement of the dispute with Canada, and through her with England, over the Alaskan boundary. This contention had resulted from the discovery of gold in the Klondike region in 1897. Up to that time the land lying between the two mountain ranges of lower Alaska had not been con-

itself over the settlements that speedily sprang up between the mountain ranges; Canadian miners desired to enter the region without having to pass through a foreign port; and the Dominion Government set up a claim to a western boundary running along the irregular coast range, thereby including as British territory several ports formed by the heads of estuaries breaking through the coast range. This claim was laid before the American Government, and on January 24, 1903, Secretary Hay and Sir Michael Herbert, the British Ambassador, signed a treaty at Washington providing for the settlement of the dispute by a mixed tribunal to consist of three British and three American representatives. The commission sat in London in the autumn and on October 17 gave its decision in favor of the United States.

A treaty was entered into with Cuba on July 2, 1903, by the terms of which the United States relinquished all claims to the Isle of Pines in consideration of Cuban concessions of coaling and naval stations at the harbors of Guantanamo and Bahia Honda.

The Pacific cable to the Philippines was completed by July 4, and on that day the President sent the first message over the new line to Governor Taft; then he sent another around the world by wire in twelve minutes.

Early in the summer charges of corruption in the conduct of the Post Office Department were made by various persons. Postmaster-General Payne dismissed all such charges as "hot air." But on June 6 President Roosevelt ordered him to make a thorough investigation. It was found that several officials of the department had been involved in criminal conspiracies with manufacturers of post-office supplies to defraud the Government. The Federal grand jury indicted

country by reason of its disasters. The early summer was remarkable for a succession of devastating floods and wind storms in widely separated parts of the land. At Topeka on May 31 a flood drowned 200 people and made 8,000 homeless. A tornado at Gainesville, Georgia, on June 1, caused a heavy loss of life and great damage to property. On June 6 a cloudburst at Clifton, South Carolina, killed fifty people and destroyed property to the value of \$3,500,000. On June 15 a similar catastrophe at Heppner, Oregon, caused the death of 500 people and a property loss of \$1,000,000. A worse calamity still came at the very end of the year, when on December 30, the Iroquois Theater in Chicago caught fire while a performance was in progress and burned down. In the fire and the panic its outbreak caused nearly 600 lives were lost, the victims being mostly women and children. This was one of the most disastrous theater fires ever known. It is good to know that its like, probably, can never happen again in this country, for it resulted in the speedy adoption by all American cities of stringent regulations for fireproof construction and equipment for all theaters. But what a comment on American civilization that such a holocaust was required to institute common-sense regulations by our lax municipalities for safeguarding the lives of their people.

At the beginning of 1904 Governor Taft left the Philippines to become Secretary of War, taking up his new duties on February 1, on the retirement from the Cabinet of Elihu Root, his predecessor in that office. Luke E. Wright, who had been Lieutenant-Governor, was appointed president of the Philippines Commission and Civil Governor of the islands. The three years of Governor Taft's administration had brought order in the Philippines in the direction of civ-



had never known before; but there is space here for only the briefest mention of some of the most important things accomplished in Mr. Taft's governorship. Among these were the introduction of a modified American system of government and laws; the establishment of courts giving equal and prompt justice to all alike; the organization of the Philippine Constabulary, or native police force, and its moulding into an efficient instrument for maintaining law and order; the providing of a system of finance and taxation adequate to the needs of the government, and at the same time adjusted to the poverty of the islands; the organization of a high class civil service; relief from the evils of a depreciated and fluctuating currency, by substituting therefor a stable one; the extension of an efficient postal service to every town of importance in the islands; the introduction of modern sanitation and sanitary methods; and the building of many important public works. Governor Taft won the respect and confidence of the Filipino for himself, and consequently for the American Government which he represented.

Throughout the summer of 1904 the "centennial" of President Jefferson's purchase of the Louisiana Territory for \$15,000,000 from Napoleon Bonaparte in 1803 was celebrated by an exposition at St. Louis that exceeded all previous world's fairs in magnificence. This opened on April 30 and did not close its gates till six months later; but though it was visited by 14,000,000 people it was found at the close that its total receipts did not equal its enormous cost. The early summer of this year witnessed another reminder of the days of Jefferson, and a far more curious one. In the latter part of May a Moroccan bandit chief named Raisuli kidnapped

diplomatic relations with France, which country by a recent treaty with England had been recognized as wielding a paramount influence in Morocco and was about to take up the practical policing of that turbulent realm, for the release of the captured American citizen. Perdicaris was liberated and made a visit to the United States to show his gratitude.

In this year serious labor troubles interfered with the orderly progress of business and even with the administration of the law in some sections of the country. A strike of 50,000 workers in the meat packing industry against reductions in their wages, which started in Chicago on July 12, spread to all the larger cities of the North where this industry is carried on. Temporarily and superficially defeated, the strikers were taken into employment again after a few weeks and received practically what they had demanded. More troublesome conditions prevailed in injuring the good name of the State of Colorado, in whose mining district of Cripple Creek a six months' reign of lawlessness culminated on June 6 in the murder of fifteen non-union miners by an explosion of dynamite at Independence railroad station. The State government had already felt the necessity of proclaiming martial law, and the militia adopted the methods of a vigilance committee and deported several men believed to be ringleaders in the disturbances.

The year also added its list of disasters which made it seem almost as if the beginning of the twentieth century was to be distinguished by establishing a new record for frequency and horror of calamities. On February 7 and 8 one of the disastrous fires in the history of American cities gutted the business district of Baltimore, razing completely 75 city blocks and destroying about \$70,000,000 worth of property.

the worst catastrophe of the year was the burning on June 15 of the "General Slocum," a summer excursion steamboat, laden with women and children bound up the East River between New York and Brooklyn for a church picnic, when more than 1,000 lives were lost by burning and drowning. An investigation by the Federal Department of Commerce and Labor revealed the grossest kind of negligence and carelessness of human life on the part of owners and captains of summer excursion boats, lax enforcement of the laws and careless inspection by Federal officials, resulting in frequent overloading as well as improper and insufficient equipment for fire fighting and life saving; and led to a rigorous reform of these conditions, and after a year and a half the imprisonment of the captain of the "General Slocum."

Politics demanded and received large attention throughout the latter half of the year; a President was to be elected, and the conventions of the great parties aroused more interest than usual. The Republican National Convention by a unanimous vote renominated President Roosevelt, selecting Senator Charles W. Fairbanks of Indiana to be his "running mate." The radical faction of the Democratic party under leadership of W. J. Bryan fought successfully to keep out of the platform any endorsement of the gold standard for the nation's currency, but failed to prevent the nomination of a conservative candidate in the person of Judge Alton B. Parker of New York. On receiving word of his nomination Judge Parker telegraphed to the convention that he was and would continue to be a firm supporter of the gold standard. The convention answered that it did not consider the coinage question as an issue of the campaign, and Judge Parker accepted the nomination. Henry G. Davis of West Virginia

paign advanced all doubt as to the result settled into the conviction that President Roosevelt's unprecedented popularity throughout the country and especially in the West made his defeat an impossibility; it was only a matter of counting the votes. The count showed 7,620,337 ballots cast for Roosevelt and Fairbanks, and 5,079,041 for Parker and Davis. The vote in the Electoral College was: Roosevelt, 336; Parker, 140; a Republican majority of 196. As soon as the result of the popular vote became known on the night of election day President Roosevelt gave out a statement that the three and a half years he had already served constituted his first term and that, believing in the wisdom of limiting any man's incumbency of the office to two terms he would not again accept a nomination.

In January, 1905, Santo Domingo appealed to the United States for help. For several years conditions in that republic had been going from bad to worse; its previous rulers had recklessly incurred debts in both Europe and America, and owing to internal disorders the ability to provide means for paying those debts had ceased. The patience of the foreign creditors had become exhausted, and at least two European nations were on the point of intervention. An agreement was entered into whereby the United States should preserve order and administer the finances of Santo Domingo, while guaranteeing her territorial integrity. On March 25 President Roosevelt appointed an American Commissioner to collect the Dominican customs revenues and supervise the handling of them until all proper claims of her foreign creditors could be settled. Later a treaty to this effect was signed in due form and ratified by the United States Senate. Another and still more signal service to the world at large was performed

February, 1904. On June 8, 1905, President Roosevelt, with the approval and applause of all civilized nations, proposed to both Governments that they open direct negotiations for peace with one another. His proposals were accepted. Peace envoys were sent to America in August: from Russia, M. Witte, President of the Committee of Ministers, and Baron Rosen, Ambassador to the United States; from Japan, Baron Komura, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Takahira, Minister to this Government. Because the weather at Washington was too hot in midsummer, they met at Portsmouth, N. H., where the terms of victorious Japan were submitted on August 10. Russia's answer was received two days later, and a deadlock ensued that threatened to render the conference futile. President Roosevelt again intervened and appealed to the Czar of Russia direct, with the happy result that the negotiations were speedily brought to a successful issue and peace was established.

In April, 1905, General Horace Porter, American Ambassador to France, discovered in Paris the body of John Paul Jones, the naval hero of the American Revolution; and in July the bones of that intrepid fighter and first man to hoist the American flag over an American warship, were brought across the Atlantic in a Government vessel and placed in a temporary vault at the Naval Academy at Annapolis. An evidence, though belated, of real gratitude on the part of a republic!

For a considerable period of the year a topic of dominating interest throughout the country was the revelation of

agement coupled with the corruption of political lobbying practically amounting to bribery, which had been unchecked for several years, compelled him to institute drastic reforms in the conduct of the Society. Mr. Ryan made Paul Morton, formerly Secretary of the Navy, president of the Society, and placed his stock in the keeping of a board of trustees headed by former President Cleveland. Meanwhile, the New York State Legislature instituted an investigation of all the life insurance companies having their headquarters in that State. This showed that practically all the big companies had been engaged in the same nefarious practices. A skilful inquisition conducted by Charles Evans Hughes as attorney for the legislature's investigating committee laid bare the most astonishing record of maladministration of the affairs of the companies and the aggrandizement of their officers at the expense of the policy-holders. The company funds had been used in the promotion of gigantic speculative enterprises. Vast sums had been given, without proper accounting, to lobbyists for the purpose of buying off bills inimical to the management of the companies and of influencing legislation in their favor. The officers of the companies had used the policy-holders' money as if it had been their own, and at the same time had drawn exorbitant salaries, in some cases two and three times that of the President of the United States. As a result of the investigation these rascally officers were turned out, forced to make restitutions, and some of them were imprisoned; some died before proper punishment could be meted out to them. The companies were reorganized, and new laws were enacted to secure more adequate regula-

almost epochal severity shattered the greater part of the proud city of San Francisco into an unsightly heap of ruins and wrought havoc in twenty smaller cities and towns of California. In San Francisco hundreds of buildings of all kinds were demolished; the main business section, the Chinese quarter, and some of the poorer residence sections were practically devastated; several hundred people were buried in the ruins. At Santa Rosa fifty lives were lost and great damage was done. San Jose was wrecked, nineteen people were killed and property worth \$8,000,000 was destroyed. Salinas suffered heavy damage. The collapse of the Agnews Insane Asylum crushed to death 117 patients and nine officers and attendants. Stanford University at Palo Alto was damaged to the extent of \$3,000,000, its memorial church being completely ruined and several other costly buildings made unfit for use. Almost all the towns in the Santa Clara, Napa, and Sonoma valleys were badly shaken. In San Francisco the upsetting of stoves, breaking of gas mains, and throwing of live electric wires into contact with inflammable wood-work started fires which developed into a mighty conflagration that raged for two days and worked far greater destruction than the earthquake itself had done. The breaking of the water mains by the quake made it impossible to quench the flames. The city's firemen, aided by the United States troops stationed at the Presidio, under command of General Funston, fought to confine the fires to the districts where they had started by blowing up with dynamite whole rows of unburned houses, but this measure of desperation was only partly successful. The city was all but wiped out of existence. Hundreds of thousands of people were made destitute and homeless. The total loss by earthquake and fire

ability to do extraordinary things, again showed himself capable of quick thinking and heroic action in an emergency by augmenting the fire and police forces of the city with the soldiers under his command and by putting into instant operation the machinery of the Army commissariat for the relief of the stricken people. The whole nation contributed to the relief of the sufferers from the calamity; Congress voted \$2,500,000 from the National Treasury, and various funds promptly raised by public subscription aggregated some twenty millions. Several foreign nations offered contributions in money as well as unfeigned expressions of sympathy, but the President, while thanking them for their generous proffers, assured them that America did not need outside help. San Francisco herself as soon as the ruins were cold, with the indomitable courage of '49 as strong as ever, set about rebuilding in a better and more lasting shape. It was found that the modern steel-framed structures had suffered least by the flames and also had been structurally uninjured by the earthquake. Profiting by this knowledge, a new and better San Francisco has been built.

In this year the Congress enacted a Federal food and drug law, for which there had been popular agitation for several years previous, designed to protect the public against the dangers of adulterated, misbranded, and fraudulent foods and drugs. This act, which became effective January 1, 1907, was the most important and far-reaching legislation concerning human food ever enacted in this country, and its beneficial effects in preventing misrepresentation and adulteration by manufacturers of food products and in controlling the use



Leonard Wood, 600 Moros being killed in battle with American troops and constabulary near Jolo on March 8. General James F. Smith was installed as Governor of the Philippine Islands on September 20. The work of establishing schools in the islands with American teachers went steadily forward, and before the end of the year the pupils enrolled numbered half a million.

The failure of President Estrada Palma's government to cope with a revolution which broke out in Cuba in August, 1906, again necessitated American intervention in the affairs of that island. Such a step was decided on with extreme reluctance by the United States Government, and only after the course of events had demonstrated that powerful outside help was the only thing that could save the Cuban Republic from chaos. Despite the best efforts of President Roosevelt's Government to keep President Estrada Palma in office and effect a compromise between the warring factions, he resigned on September 28, insisting that his honor had been impugned by disagreements within his own party. The next day Secretary Taft took charge as Provisional Governor and proclaimed the intervention of the United States to restore order and protect life and property, the provisional government to be maintained only so long as might be necessary. The Cuban flag remained floating over the government buildings and so far as consistent with the nature of a provisional government established under the United States this would be a Cuban government. On October 12 Secretary Taft was succeeded as Provisional Governor by Charles E. Magoon. The disarmament and disbanding of the insurgent forces were rapidly accomplished. In the course of the year 1907

the Cuban Congress met, and on the 28th Governor Magoon turned over the administration of government to the new executive. The cost of this second American intervention in Cuba was estimated at \$6,000,000.

The most important event in the civil history of the Philippine Islands under the American occupation, since the establishment of civil rule in July, 1902, came in 1907 in the creation of a national assembly to constitute the lower house of the Philippine Legislature—the Philippine Commission forming the upper house. Congress had enacted in 1905 that when the President should be satisfied that peace had been established he should order the taking of a census of the islands, and that if peaceful conditions should continue for two years thereafter an election of delegates to a popular assembly should be held. A census was completed in March, 1905, and on March 27, 1907, the President issued an order for the first Philippine election. On October 16 the Philippine Assembly was opened by Secretary Taft, who went to Manila for the purpose. Mr. Taft then continued his journey around the world, being welcomed in several Asiatic and European capitals with the most cordial expressions of friendship for America. His visit to Japan especially helped to cement the bonds of amity and good will, which short-sighted agitators and self-seekers in this country, particularly on the Pacific coast, had been striving for several years to strain if not to break. In St. Petersburg Mr. Taft delivered a noteworthy address on the subject of universal peace. On his return he was frequently mentioned as the “logical” candidate for the Presidency for the Republican party to put forward in 1908, and was indorsed for that office by many Republican state conventions.

States had received a decided impetus at the beginning of his second administration, and considerable public sentiment had been developed for the preservation of the country's waning forests for future usefulness. In 1905 control of the national forest reserves had been transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Department of Agriculture and a new "Forest Service" created, which marked a long step forward in the preservation of forests for purposes of permanent timber supply and the protection of watersheds and grazing lands. It took a long time to bring the public to a realization of the necessity for any such step—indeed to any understanding of the vital importance to the future welfare of the country of the forests for their timber and grass and the conservation of stream flow—especially in the West, which considered its riches in this kind inexhaustible. The aim of the new service is to manage the forests so as to develop their permanent value as a resource by use. Besides the care and perpetuation of the national forests, the Forest Service has to do with the practical uses of forests and forest trees in the United States, especially with the commercial management of forest tracts, wood lots, and forest plantations. It undertakes such forest studies as lie beyond the power or the means of individuals to carry on unaided; and it stands ready to co-operate to the limit of its resources with all who seek assistance in the solution of practical forest problems, particularly where such co-operation will result in object lessons or encouraging examples for the general benefit.

The year 1907 marked a new pivotal point in the history of American finance. The industrial expansion of the nation had continued at an unprecedented and a constantly accelerating pace for several years previous; it was an era of

financial panic, which, in the extent of the area affected (practically every section from the Atlantic to the Pacific) and in the complete collapse of credit, was one of the most disastrous in our history. Sums of money amounting in the aggregate to many millions of dollars were withdrawn from the banks and hoarded, thereby crippling all ordinary business and paralyzing everything in the nature of new undertakings. Failures among banking and commercial institutions were many and heavy. The total loss in the market value of securities for the year exceeded \$5,000,000,000. A senseless attempt was made by some of the so-called "Napoleons of High Finance," who had themselves been guilty of causing the conditions that brought about the trouble, to hold President Roosevelt responsible for the panic, and so prejudice the public against him. That attempt failed signally. The President himself uttered the best possible characterization of his activities when he said that he had "only turned on the light." The bulk of the American people knew this for the truth, and that Mr. Roosevelt had been in no degree whatever responsible for the rottenness which his turning on of the light showed up. In connection with the panic, a rather curious, if not altogether a compensating fact was that the benefactions of the people of the United States in 1907 were remarkable for their record-breaking aggregate and for the large number of gifts amounting to a million dollars or more. The largest of all these benefactions was Mr. John D. Rockefeller's gift of \$32,000,000 to the General Education Board, to which he had previously given \$11,000,000. The purposes of this organization, which was formed in 1902, are

the widest interest was a strike of the miners at Goldfield, Nevada, where such grave disorders resulted that the Governor of that State called on the President for Federal troops to maintain order—Nevada being without any State militia. A small force under General Funston was sent from California in December, and remained in the mining camp for one month.

At the end of the year a notable conference, called jointly by President Roosevelt and President Diaz of Mexico, of the five Central American nations on the question of a general treaty of arbitration and amity was held at Washington. All the Central American states were represented—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Salvador—and their delegates remained in conference from November 14 to December 20. The utmost good feeling prevailed, and eight separate conventions were adopted which promised to bring about permanent beneficial results.

On December 16, 1907, despite the protests of many alarmists and harsh criticisms of the President by newspapers and individuals who imagined a vain thing, the Atlantic Fleet of sixteen battleships of the American navy sailed from Hampton Roads for the Pacific on a practice cruise. Stopping on the way at various South American ports, and passing through the Straits of Magellan, the fleet reached San Francisco on schedule time and in excellent condition. From there, on invitations from Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan, the voyage was continued around the world, and this cruise of sixteen American battleships on a mission of peace and goodwill became one of the most notable happenings of the year 1908. The fleet left San Francisco on July 7, touched at various ports of Australia, New Zealand, China, and Japan, reached Manila on December 1, and

of embroiling this nation in difficulties with any foreign Power, as the alarmists had predicted it would, served to cement more firmly the bonds of friendship with each of the lands visited. Incidentally, on its return voyage through the Mediterranean the American fleet was the means of bearing prompt succor to the sufferers from a terrific earthquake at Messina.

In the field of foreign relations 1908 was a notable year for the number of arbitration treaties ratified between the United States and other nations. While Congress was in session the Senate ratified such treaties with France, Italy, Mexico, Switzerland, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Portugal, Japan, Great Britain, and the Netherlands. Perhaps the most important of these treaties, certainly the one that brought greatest satisfaction to the American Government, was that with Japan, for this was the first definite result of the resumption of treaty negotiations with that Power, which had been discontinued in the winter of 1906 on account of a dastardly assault of Japanese subjects in San Francisco, and was also the first arbitration treaty between Japan and the United States. A still more notable diplomatic incident of the year was an agreement with Japan, in the form of an exchange of notes by Secretary of State Root and Baron Kogoro Takahira, the Japanese Ambassador, which brought the final solution of international difficulties that had been pending for several years. The only international unpleasantness of the year grew out of certain long-standing difficulties with Venezuela. Cipriano Castro, the autocratic Dictator-President of that country, had played fast

mail bags intended for the United States Cruiser Tacoma. In July diplomatic relations were broken off because of Castro's continued refusal to submit the American claims to arbitration. In December Castro went to Europe suddenly, ostensibly for medical treatment. The prevalent opinion, in the Western Hemisphere at least, was that he had looted Venezuela; and a sudden bloodless revolution that placed Juan Vincente Gomez in the Presidency brought an end to the strained relations with America. President Gomez reversed the foreign policy of Castro and signified his desire for a peaceable settlement of the questions at issue. On February 15, 1909, a protocol was signed between the United States and Venezuela for the settlement of all their differences.

A unique and important conference on the conservation of natural resources held at Washington on May 13 by the governors and representatives of all the States of the Union, on the invitation of President Roosevelt, was perhaps the single event of most far-reaching influence for the future welfare of the country that happened within its borders in 1908. The importance of that conference, indeed, has not yet been realized, and probably will not be for several years to come. It started a movement that cannot fail to be of inestimable benefit to this nation and to all its people. It contributed more than any other single event had ever done to bring all the States into an enlightened co-operation—even into an understanding of the essential unity of this great land, by displacing old sectional feeling with the larger horizons of national life. And it helped greatly to establish as the supreme political and social movement of the next few

conspiracy to obtain vast tracts of public lands by fraudulent entry for settlement saved millions of dollars to the United States, put a check to other plans for plundering the public domain, and greatly strengthened the prosecuting power of the Government. The operations of these conspirators extended to twenty different States of the Union and involved some 250,000 acres. Two of the conspirators—the ringleaders who had planned the frauds—were punished by heavy fines and imprisonment; and four employees of the Land Office were dismissed for being in their pay.

The Presidential campaign of 1908 was somewhat peculiar for the absolute domination of the Republican and Democratic conventions, each by the candidacy of a single man whose nomination had not been in any doubt for many months previous, and for the lack of interest in and support of the minor parties in the field, which as vote-getters dwindled into practical insignificance. The State conventions had assured William Howard Taft an overwhelming majority of the votes of the Republican National Convention; fears of an attempt to stampede the convention by placing President Roosevelt in nomination for a third term (in spite of his repeated emphatic assertions that he would not accept it) proved groundless, and Mr. Taft was made the unanimous choice, Representative James S. Sherman of New York being named for Vice-President. With equal certainty the Democratic convention was committed to William J. Bryan, and with him was nominated for Vice-President John W. Kern, of Indiana. Taft and Sherman were elected, receiving 7,679,006 ballots of the popular vote, 6,409,106 cast for



to the Panama Canal with a party of eminent American engineers. After a careful examination of the work, Mr. Taft and the engineers accompanying him declared the plans on which the work was going forward to be entirely satisfactory, save for certain very minor details, and that every dollar expended on the construction of the canal had been honestly spent.

Immediately after relinquishing the Presidency to his successor, Mr. Roosevelt started on a year's hunting trip in British East Africa, sailing from New York on March 23, 1909, in charge of a scientific expedition sent out by the Smithsonian Institution to collect birds, mammals, reptiles, and plants, but especially specimens of big game, for the National Museum at Washington. He remained in the African wilds until the early spring of 1910, and contributed to *Scribner's Magazine* a noteworthy series of articles describing the experiences and exploits of the expedition, which met with unqualified success. The former President returned home by way of Europe, visiting its chief capitals, in several of which he made addresses on scientific and political subjects, and serving as special ambassador of the United States at the funeral of King Edward VII of Great Britain. Throughout Europe he was received with the greatest acclaim. The Kaiser held a special review of picked troops of the German army for his delectation. The universities of Paris, Berlin, Cambridge, and Oxford conferred honorary degrees upon him. His whole European tour partook of the nature of a triumphal progress. No other American, not even General Grant, whose journey around the world after retiring from the Presidency had been signalized by foreign honors

made a pretty good record of accomplishment. On April 6, 1909, the North Pole was reached by Commander Robert E. Peary, of the United States Navy. It was unfortunate that little came of this achievement but a quarrel and a scandal, thanks to the temporarily successful hoaxing of the world by a modern disciple of Baron Munchausen named Cook, and not by any fault of Commander Peary's. The discovery of the Pole was a great event as a sign of human pertinacity and masterfulness, though not of supreme scientific importance, and the nation may well be proud of such an explorer as Commander Peary, who succeeded in his quest only after many years of persevering preparation and many expeditions over the desolate ice-cap fraught with heroic hardships. In 1909 also notable advances were made in aviation—artificial flight with heavier-than-air machines—which had come to be the passion of the time. In the preceding year the progress of aerial navigation had been signalized by the demonstrated triumph of the aeroplane. But the striking developments in the successful tests and demonstrations of the brothers Orville and Wilbur Wright of Ohio, who had been working on the problem for a decade or more, had been marred by the first death resulting from their attempts. On September 17, 1908, aviation claimed its first victim in the person of Lieutenant T. E. Selfridge, U. S. A., who was killed by the fall to earth of an aeroplane when its propeller broke a blade in air. This was at Fort Myer, Va., where the machine was undergoing tests for the Army, and Orville Wright, its inventor, with whom Lieutenant Selfridge was riding as a passenger, was seriously injured. At Le Mans, France, in the autumn of 1908, no such accident attended Wilbur Wright's demonstrations; and his brilliant work was

accepted by the Government. It has since been demonstrated that an aeroplane could drop shells on the deck of a "Dreadnought" and in a few seconds convert ten million dollars into junk—and probably get safely away before it could be hit by any gun carried on a man-of-war. Our Government has not yet realized what this means, for it persists in carrying out its wasteful program of building two "Dreadnoughts" a year and maintaining a great and useless navy at a cost of several hundred millions annually. At this writing (summer of 1910) it is impossible to foretell the momentous events likely to result from this wonderful invention of the aeroplane. It annihilates space as nothing before it has ever done. It is probable that the mails will some day be carried through the air, and it is possible also that a considerable express commerce may be developed in that way. Simply as a sport, aviation has already done something to foster international peace by its numerous friendly contests in which the bird-men of various nations have taken part. Anything that tends to bring about a better knowledge and understanding of one another by two different peoples militates against war between them; and in this direction aerial navigation is destined to work wonders. But best of all, perhaps, the conquest of the air promises to make war impossible, because it makes war more than ever hopelessly extravagant.

A notable diplomatic triumph of 1909 was the signing on February 9 by Secretary Root and Ambassador Bryce of three treaties between the United States and Great Britain: for submitting to the International Court of Arbitration at The Hague the long standing fisheries dispute with Newfoundland; for the submission to a joint high commission of six men, three from each nation, of all questions that shall arise between the United States and Canada; and a third

Alaskan resources and those of the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean, was unique among ventures of this kind in being so successful financially as to pay all expenses. It was visited by some 3,740,500 people. The centenary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln was widely celebrated this year, and in the autumn New York City was the scene of a great popular festival in honor of the three hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Hudson River by Henry Hudson and the one hundredth of Robert Fulton's invention of the steamboat. In the autumn President Taft made a long tour around the country lasting two months which was in a sense unique in the annals of Presidential travels. Its purposes were to enable the President to meet the people of the country and learn from them direct what they wished from his administration; to interpret to them the recent enactments of Federal legislation; and to shape public opinion by suggesting possible future legislation and raise popular support for it. Starting from Boston, the President traveled across the country to the Pacific coast, thence down into Texas, and turning eastward to St. Louis, sailed down the Mississippi to New Orleans, then across the southern States and back up the Atlantic coast to Washington. An interesting incident of the trip was the meeting of President Diaz of Mexico at the boundary line near El Paso, Texas.

In 1909 the American Sugar Refining Company, commonly known as the "Sugar Trust," was successfully prosecuted by the Government for violation of the criminal clause of the Sherman law and for gigantic frauds in the weighing of imported sugar. The company was fined \$134,000 and compelled to restore more than \$1,000,000 of evaded duties in a test case; other cases were then settled voluntarily, the Government receiving a total of \$2,269,897

had to deal in the first half of his administration was serious friction within his political family over the work of the Land Office and the question of conservation. Although it did not become public until August, 1909, the controversy between Richard A. Ballinger, of Washington State, whom Mr. Taft appointed Secretary of the Interior, and Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester, of the Department of Agriculture, really had its beginning in the Roosevelt administration over the withdrawal of certain public lands from entry. Mr. Ballinger, then Commissioner of the General Land Office, disagreed with Mr. Pinchot, who had the support of President Roosevelt as well as that of his Secretary of the Interior, James R. Garfield. One of the last official acts of President Roosevelt had been to withdraw from entry 1,500,000 acres in Montana and Wyoming, to prevent alleged attempts toward the acquisition of valuable water-power sites by a great corporation. As soon as Mr. Ballinger became Secretary of the Interior he rescinded that order of withdrawal, and the lands were thrown open to entry on the ground that "the withdrawal appeared to be no longer necessary to the interests of the United States." Later, when the friends of conservation had raised the alarm, he gave as his reason the opinion that the large withdrawals under President Roosevelt had not been warranted by a strict interpretation of the law. Mr. Pinchot resented what appeared to be a complete reversal of policy and a great danger to the whole cause of conservation, and declared that the Water Power Trust was trying to absorb rights belonging to the people. The discussion waxed in warmth, but was soon overshadowed by another arising indirectly from it. Charges were made by L. R. Glavis, chief of the field division of the General Land Office, that Mr. Ballinger had used his influence in the period between his

and unlawful claims. President Taft tried to smooth out the difficulty, and upheld Mr. Ballinger while ordering him to restore the disputed reservations of lands made by his predecessor. Mr. Pinchot was dismissed from office for insubordination. But the controversy grew more acrimonious, and the agitation against Ballinger was taken up by many newspapers and magazines. In December, 1909, Congress decided to institute an investigation by a joint committee of both houses. The report of that committee has not yet been made (July, 1910). In July, 1910, Secretary Ballinger, again by the "instructions" of President Taft, withdrew from entry 73,270,771 acres of the public domain.

On June 20th the territories of Arizona and New Mexico were admitted to statehood, as the 48th and 49th States of the Union.

A belated benefit to the Philippine Islands was secured in 1909 by the passage by Congress of a Philippine tariff bill which established trade relations between America and the Islands almost, but not quite, on a free-trade basis. This was the result of continuous effort extending over several years. The Philippines were more in need of special considerations in tariff legislation than any part of United States territory, and the benefits from the act soon became apparent. On November 23, 1909, W. Cameron Forbes, appointed by President Taft, was installed at Manila as Governor-General of the Philippines. The future of the Philippine Islands remains, after ten years of American occupation, to the world at large as well as to every enlightened and loyal American at home, the most interesting problem confronting this nation. But there is no longer any doubt of its ultimate solu-

the National Education Association at Cambridge, Mass., on July 4, 1910, when he said:

"Those who were responsible for the policy have been subjected to the severest criticism, in that they are said to have violated the proposition of the Declaration of Independence that to secure the rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness governments were instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. I affirm that there is nothing in the Philippines policy of this Government which is at variance with the language from the Declaration of Independence which I have quoted when that language is properly understood by the same sort of construction as Lincoln gave to the language 'All men are created equal.' When the time shall arrive in which the Filipinos can be safely trusted to organize and maintain permanently their own Government, and this Government shall withdraw from the Islands, or offer to do so, the proposition of the Declaration of Independence will then have been fulfilled and the Government will be a just one, for it will rest on the consent of the governed. Meantime, however, in the absence of the full effects of education, and until the Filipinos as citizens are able to walk alone, there will continue to be a seeming inconsistency between the policy of the Americans in the Philippines and the language of the Declaration of Independence. But I maintain, in the presence of this great audience, whose profession is that of teaching and whose object is that of educating and fitting men to meet the responsibilities of government and to become intelligent patriots, that the methods taken and the procedure that is being followed are in entire accordance with the spirit of that great Declaration, properly interpreted, and are only another instance with that of Cuba of a purely

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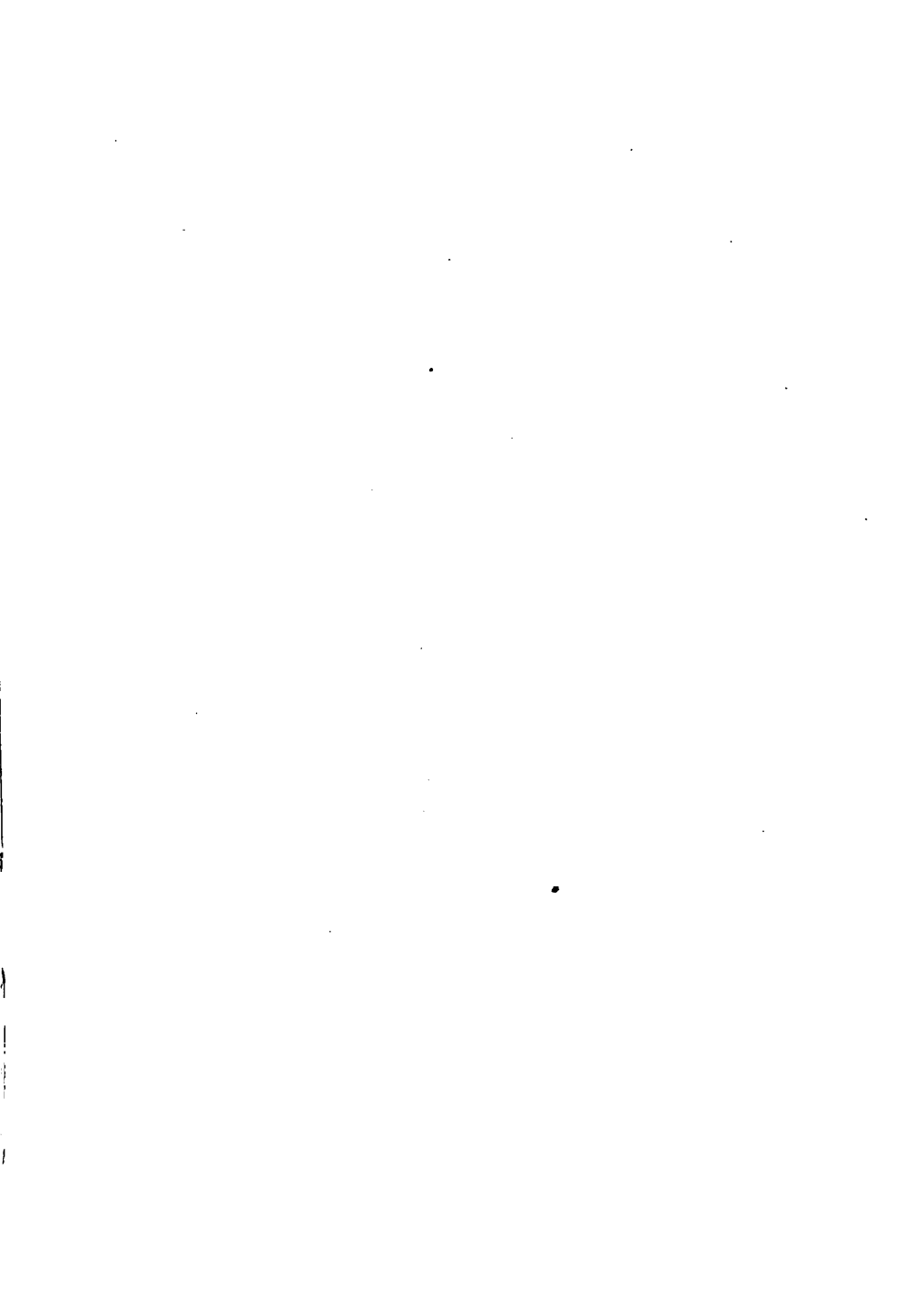
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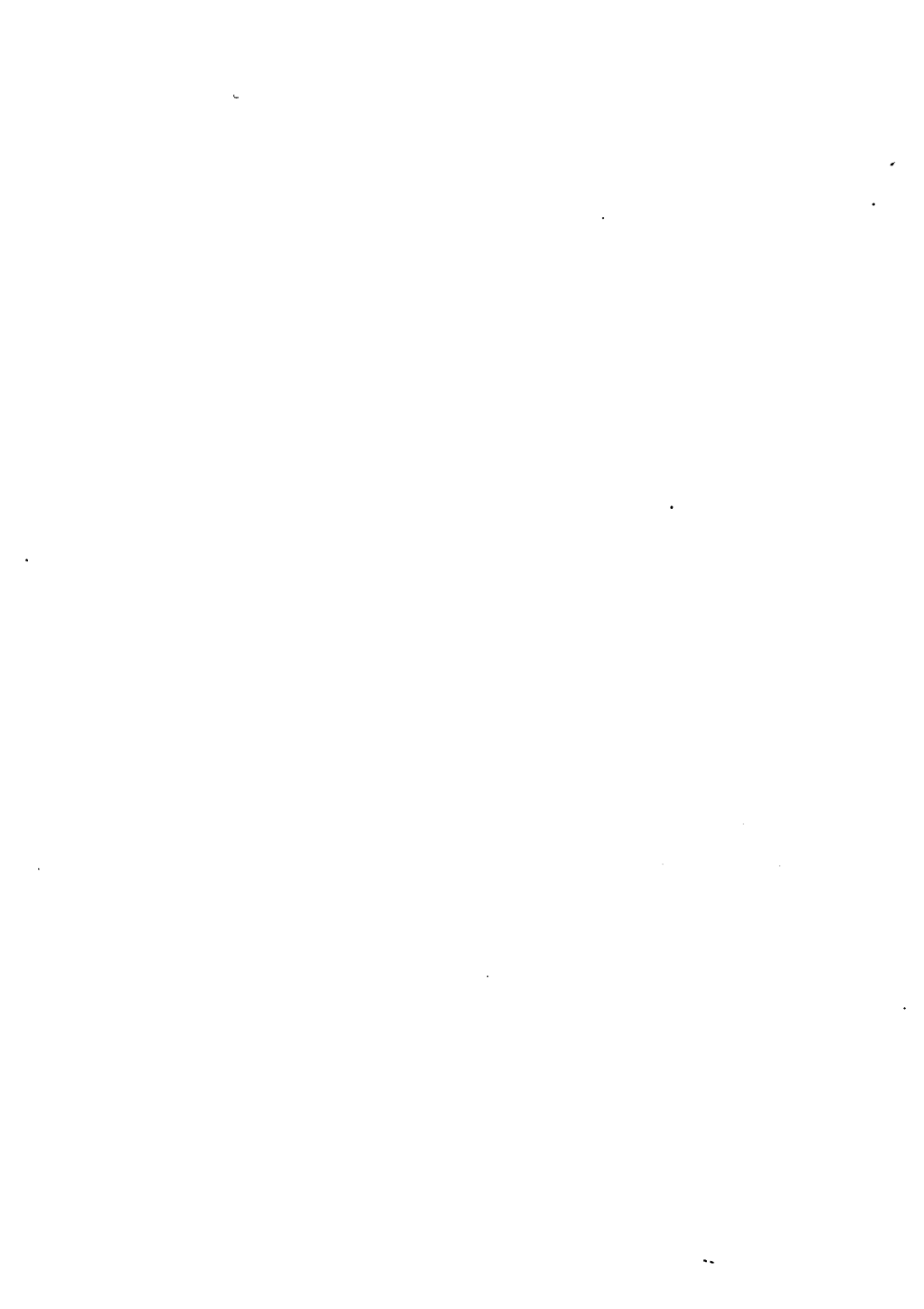
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